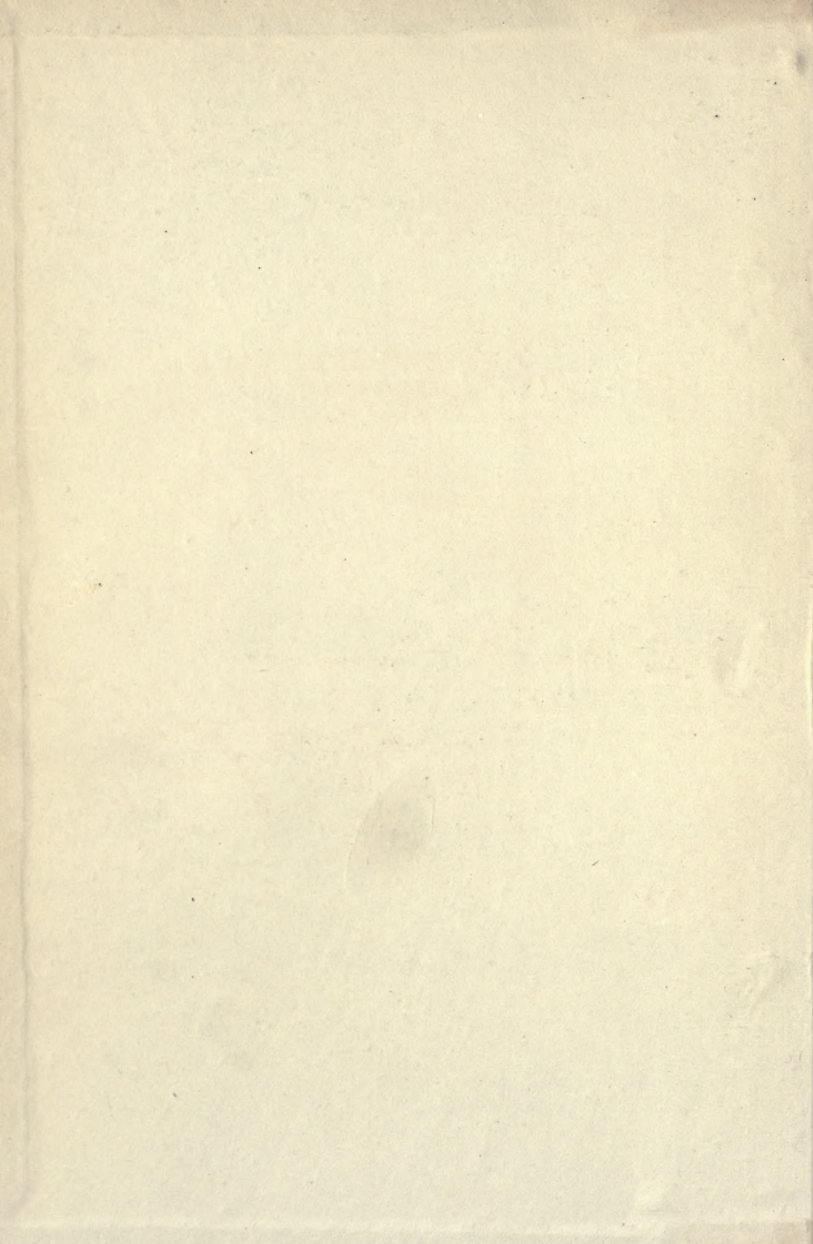
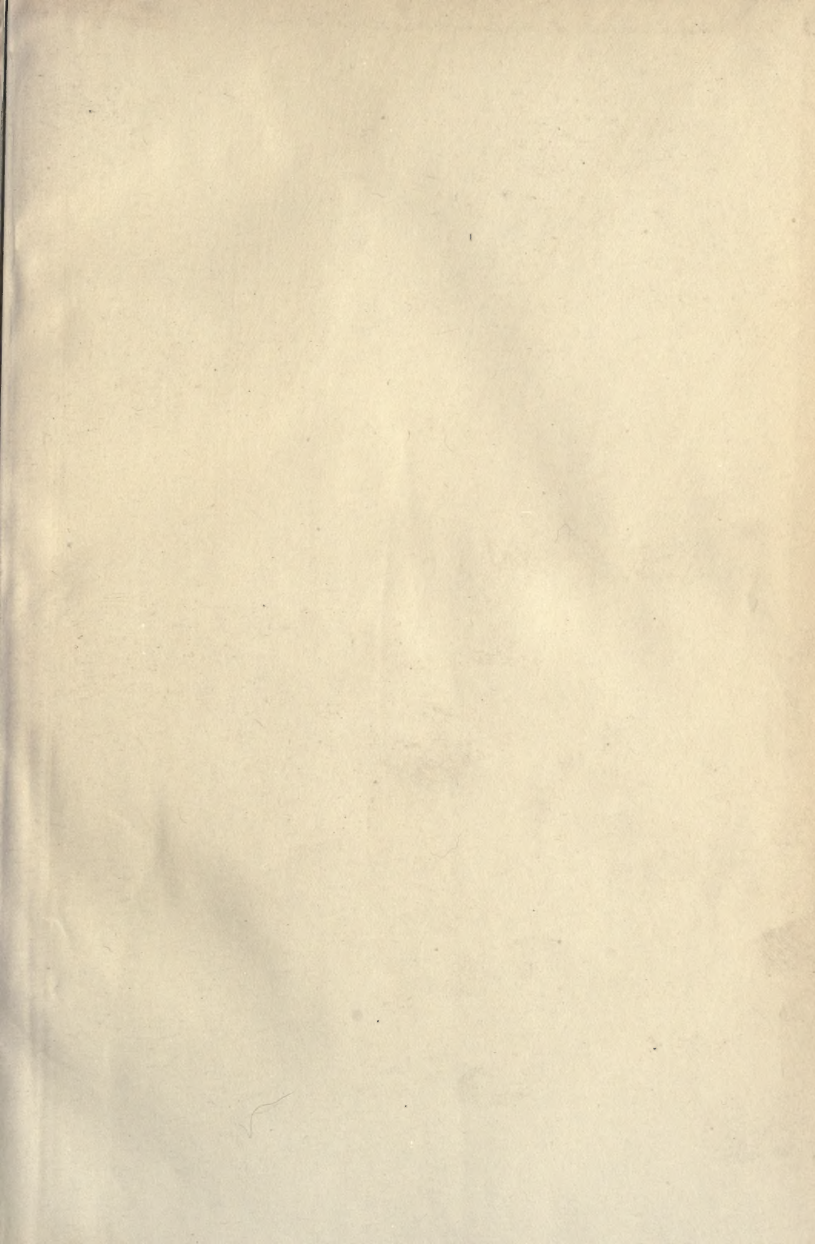
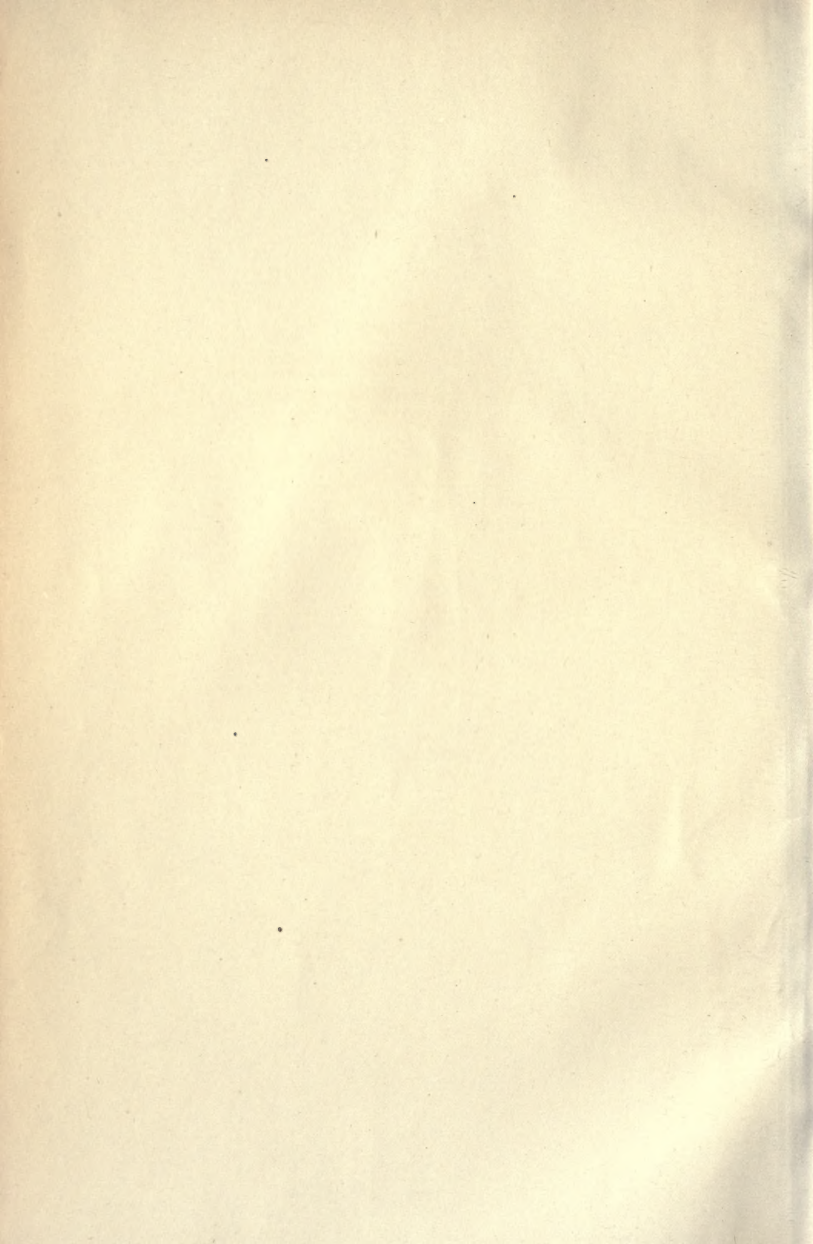
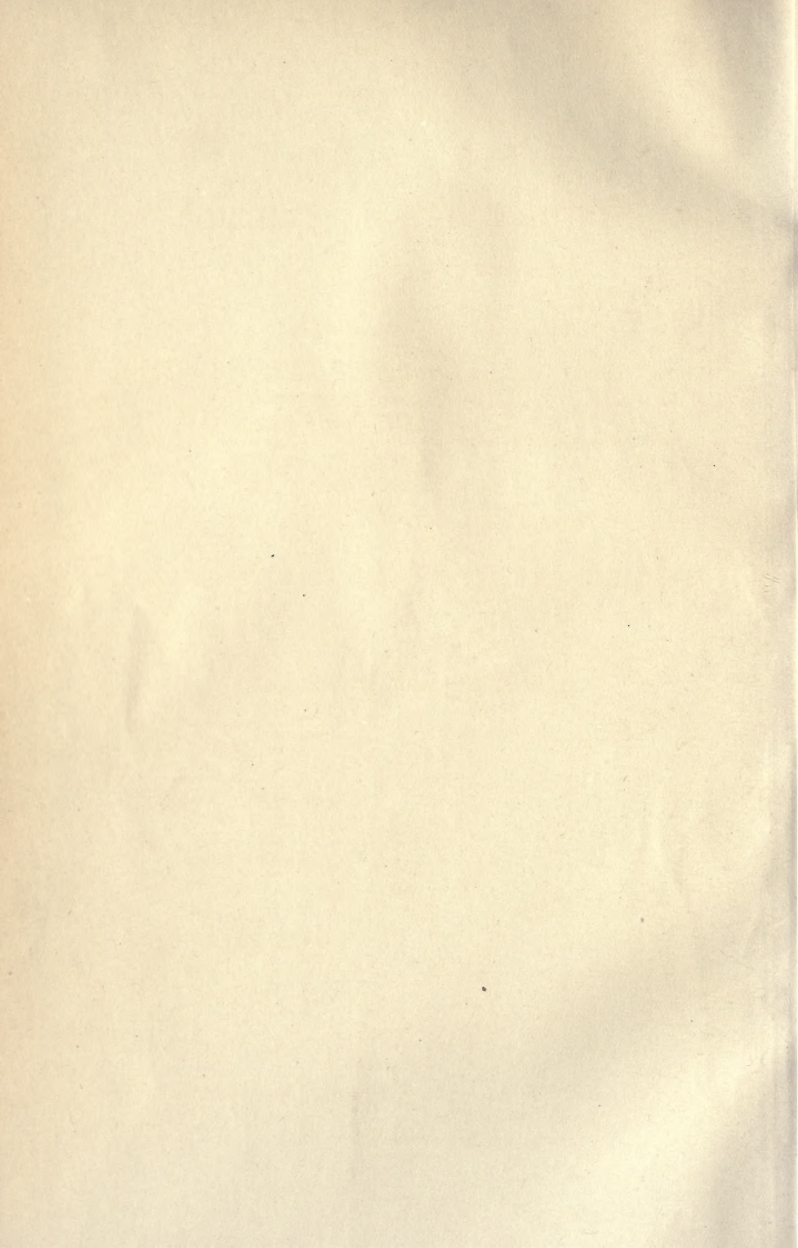


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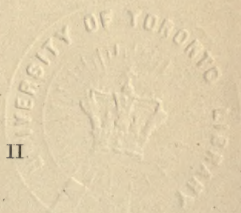
RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

The Early and Middle Ages.

VOLUME LII.

SECOND SERIES, VOL. II.



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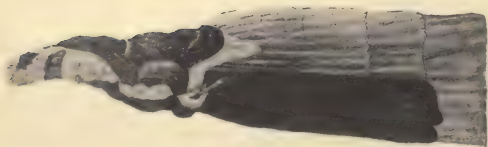
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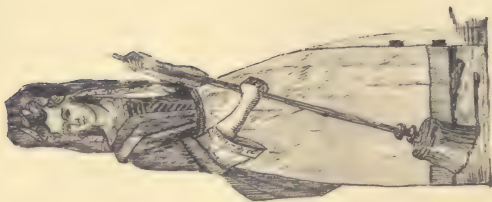
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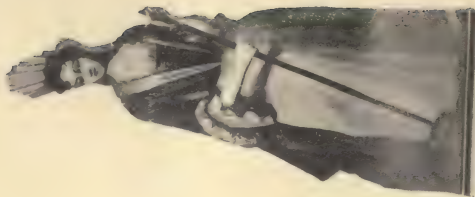
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PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES. PLATE I.

1 & 2, KNOLE.
3, OHELMSFORD. 4, CASTLE HOWARD.
(copyright)

PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle.

In May, 1890, I had the honour of laying before the Institute an account of two Picture Board Dummies, or life sized figures of grenadiers, the property of the County Hotel Company, Carlisle. I identified the figures as grenadiers of the Queen's or 2nd regiment of foot, between the years 1714 and 1727. The account, which is printed in our Journal, vol. XLVII, p. 321, also contained a description of a third Picture Board grenadier, the property of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.

In writing of these Picture Board Dummies, I dealt with them as evidence of the uniforms, equipments, and positions at drill of the British army at particular dates, as milestones in military history ; and not particularly as specimens of Picture Board Dummies. The publication, however, of the paper resulted in my receiving from kind friends photographs and descriptions of other Dummies, and these I propose now to put upon record.

The term "Picture Board Dummies,"¹ was, I believe, invented by Mr. Syer Cuming, F.S.A., Scotland, who perpetrated two papers on the subject in the 30th volume of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, pp. 66-71, and 325-327. He says, p. 66,

Among other old whimsies, which sprung up during the period indicated, (the seventeenth century) was that of depicting different devices on flat boards, shaped according to the contour of the subject represented and placed in such situations as would most readily lead the beholders to believe that they were gazing on realities instead of mere artistic deceptions. Holland appears to have been the natal land of this tricky conceit, which found a ready reception in England, and manifested itself in a variety of forms and ways. Full sized animate and inanimate objects were produced by brush and saw, and pleasure grounds were embellished, and dwelling houses decked with mimic life and mimic furniture, some of which seem to have been the work of skilful hands, and of men of real genius and art-loving feeling.

¹ The name "Board Figures" has been suggested by Sir H. Dryden ; it is perhaps the better name, and certainly

shorter, but I care not to drive the other name out of the field, which it has held for twenty years.

Of inanimate objects thus represented, Mr. Syer Cuming instances punch-bowls: of animate, dogs, cats, macaws, and human beings; about the last class alone—human beings—I propose to concern myself in this paper. Mr. Syer Cuming says:

Men and women were far more common in these counterfeits of nature than were children. Shepherdesses, ballad singers, and servant maids, knights in armour, bluff yeomen of the guard, soldiers with muskets, and Highlanders, being very favourite dummies.

CLASS I.—SOLDIERS.

By far the most numerous class that has come to my knowledge, consists of soldiers; but of many of them I have been able only to ascertain the names of the places where they once existed. The best known of this class, and the most important, because a date can definitely be assigned to them, are the two grenadiers of the 2nd or Queen's regiment of foot, (now the Royal West Surrey regiment) between the years 1714 and 1727. These are at the County Hotel, Carlisle. Next comes the fine grenadier belonging to Sir Henry Dryden, supposed to represent a grenadier of the 3rd Guards, in the early part of the last century. This figure is valuable on account of having the apparatus for placing it free from the wall, viz: a projecting ledge or frame behind, 6 inches deep. This and the feather edging or bevelling off the figure from the back to the front add much to the lifelike appearance of the figure, by causing it to throw a shadow on the wall behind, such as a real person would do. It is unnecessary to delay further over these three figures, as they are already described and illustrated in our *Journal*.

The next dummy of a grenadier upon record is one which in 1845 was at the White Hart, Chelmsford. An account of it by the late John Adey Repton, F.S.A., is in the December number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year, where an illustration is given. This is a poor specimen compared with the three stalwart and hard bitten grenadiers whose illustrations accompany my previous paper; he is much more like one of the smooth-faced chubby little boy recruits of the present day. The uni-

form is that of the time of George I, say 1720, though I am unable to identify the regiment. Mr. Repton in his account of it, states that another such figure was on the staircase of the Bull, at Dartford, but nothing is now known there about it, nor have I succeeded in finding out if the Chelmsford figure still exists.

In the Appendix to this paper will be found a list of several Picture Board Dummies of soldiers, compiled from Mr. Syer Cuming's two papers; as those papers were published in 1874, and some of the figures had not been seen for thirty years prior to that date, I have not made inquiries as to their present existence or whereabouts. Mr. Cuming mentions four at Shoreham, each of which he describes as having "tall sugar loaf cap, tunic, cross belt, leggings, and black gaiters;" this last word is clearly a misprint for "garters," and the "leggings" will be the long white stockings or leggings drawn over the knee. The misprint is probably repeated in his account of a grenadier dummy at Picklescolt, near Dorrington in Shropshire, which he puts into "black gaiters," an article of dress which the English army did not adopt until 1767, when, under an order of that year, they assumed bear-skin caps and black gaiters or leggings, and discarded the sugar-loaf caps and white leggings. This figure is in profile, which is unusual, and has two or three stripes on the arm, denoting a non-commissioned officer. Of the four at Shoreham, two were full-faced, while the other two were, one at right half face, the other at left half face.

There are now two "Picture Board Dummies" of soldiers at Hull, the property of Mr. S. S. W. Whitfield, they are part of a series of six figures, of which the other four will be dealt with later on. Mr. Whitfield describes the costume of these soldiers thus:

The soldiers' coats are red with gold stripes on the chest. They seem to be long frock coats with side pockets, coats coloured red with gold lace, side pockets same colour with gold lace round them. The turn down collar is gold lace and green squares in it. Scarf of white round the neck. Breeches to the top of the knee. Stockings light stone colour with red garters. Yellow belt and a buckle at the centre. Black shoes. Cap, or sort of busby with a gold edge and a small plume, either feather or hair. Colour of plume dark gold at the top, tied with red round the centre, and a black ball at the bottom. He carries over his shoulder what looks like a stick.

I take it that the gold lace is merely yellow worsted, as otherwise this would be a very expensive dress for a private soldier. However, gold lace or yellow worsted, this is not the uniform of an English soldier of any date; other armies than the English wore red coats, for instance the Danish, and the Hanoverian.¹ The date is probably early in the last century. What the stick may be that he carries in his hand over his shoulder, I do not know, but in some foreign armies I believe the non-commissioned officers did carry sticks and belabour the rank and file with them. Each of these figures is about five feet ten inches high, and the edges are feather edged or bevelled from the back to the front. They stand about one inch off the wall and are fixed by staples and hooks, the staple being driven into a cross piece of wood which runs from shoulder to shoulder. These figures have been in Mr. Whitfield's family over one hundred years, having come down to him from his mother's grandmother, who lived in Lime Street Hall, The Groves, Hull. The wood of which they are made appears to be teak.

In the *British Archæological Journal*, vol. XXX, p. 326, Mr. Cuming mentions, on the authority of Sir Henry Dryden, who had seen them, that in 1846, there were about a dozen such "Picture Board Dummies" of soldiers in the grand apartments of the monastery of St. Florian, near Lintz, on the Danube, standing near the doors of different rooms.

These are all the instances of "Picture Board Dummies" of soldiers that we have to record, about thirty in number, without the ones at Lintz.² Of this number, so far as known, only two represent foreign soldiers, the rest represent English ones, and were therefore made in England, probably by or for some retired veteran of the regiment represented. They are so frequently to be found in inns, tea-gardens, and the like places, as to suggest that

¹ I am indebted to Mr. S. M. Milne, of Calverley Hall near Leeds, a distinguished authority on English military costume, for his opinion on this soldier, which is embodied above.

Mr. Milne tells me that about two years ago, he saw up a passage at Oxford, a "Picture Board Dummy" of a soldier in the uniform of 1812, but the details

were insufficient to show what was the regiment, whether regular, or militia. I have at the very last moment heard of two "Picture Board Dummy" soldiers, the property of Hamon le Strange Esq., Hunstanton Hall, King's Lynn, but have not had time to ascertain particulars.

² For a list, see appendix to this paper.

the veteran had become the host of the inn, or the keeper of the tea-garden. They were not intended as firescreens for they will not stand upright without the support of a wall, either immediately or kept at a few inches distance therefrom by a ledge on their backs. Indeed, their legs, standing wide apart, unfit them for such an office, as that of a firescreen.

CLASS II.—PRETTY HOUSEMAIDS.

The army having been disposed of, I will now turn to figures of so-called housemaids sweeping with a broom or brush, which are distinctive and numerous enough to form a class by themselves.

Of them Mr. Repton, F.S.A., whom we have mentioned before writes :

It was formerly the custom in ancient family mansions to introduce a painting which represents a chambermaid holding a broom in her hands, which was cut out of board, and generally placed in a passage or at the top of the stairs. The earliest specimens I have seen (from the style of the dress) are of the date of Charles I or the early part of Charles II, as at Knole and Cobham Hall, and also at Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire. The enclosed specimen is of a later period having the Fontaine (*sic*) head-dress which prevailed about the time of William III or Queen Anne." *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1845.

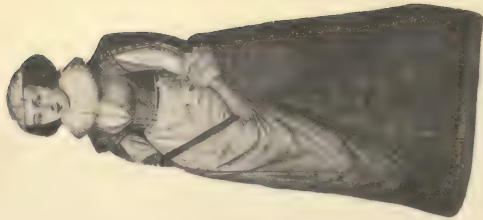
The "enclosed specimen" is a sketch¹ of a sweeping chambermaid or housemaid from the White Hart inn, at Chelmsford, to which it had recently (in 1845) been removed from the Black Boy. Whether the head-dress is the Fontaine [Fontange] or not, I feel uncertain; the girl's hair is dressed high upon the top of her head, and is protected by a hood or scarf embroidered with lace, a "lacehead" properly so-called. The bodice of her gown fastens up in front, and she has a lace tucker and short lace under sleeves. Her dress and hood are deep red, and her apron is green. No part of this costume, except the green baize apron, and the broom belong to a housemaid. The lace head, lace tucker, and loose Mechlin sleeves all denote a lady. I think this dummy

¹ Reproduced in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1845, from which

it has been reproduced as an illustration to this Paper. See Plate I, fig. 3.

is of English make; in date she is the contemporary, 1720, of the grenadier already described, who was with her at the Black Boy, at Chelmsford, and whose portrait is given side by side with hers in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1845; the details of the broom handle, as shown there, should be noticed. I have not succeeded in finding if this figure still exists.

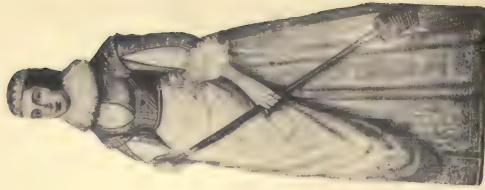
Mr. Repton mentions having seen sweeping housemaids at Knole, and Cobham Hall, in Kent, but Lord Darnley informs me that he knows nothing of any "Picture Board Dummy" at Cobham Hall, and the "Picture Board Dummies" at Knole, do not include a sweeping housemaid. Mr. Repton mentions one at Stoneleigh Abbey, in Warwickshire. Of that, by the kindness of Lord and Lady Leigh, I have particulars, and a photograph; and also a sketch made by Lady Leigh. The sweeping figure at Stoneleigh Abbey, is known there as "the Pretty Housemaid," and the story is, that she was sweeping the floor dressed up for a fancy ball, when the then Lord Leigh saw her, and insisted on her portrait being taken; but the housekeeper, fearing that the pretty maid's head would be turned, stipulated that she should be represented wielding her professional broom. Another story is that the girl was dressed to go to Coventry fair. But in the case of the Stoneleigh Abbey "Pretty Housemaid," as in almost every other instance, the impression conveyed to a spectator is of a lady masquerading as a housemaid, and not of a housemaid dressed up as a lady: in the Stoneleigh Abbey instance the hands alone would seem to prove that, being of unusual delicacy, while there is a ring on the little finger of the left hand. The face too, is one of refinement, with bright brown eyes and small, smiling cherry lips. The bodice of her dress, of pale plum colour, trimmed with gold twist or braid, laces up the front, but is open below the falling ruff which encircles the throat, and displays a white chemisette. The shoulders are covered by "wings," and the sleeves are short, and terminate in double lace ruffles; below which, on the left arm, are two or three hair bracelets. The long apron is white over a clear blue skirt with a broad band of lace at the bottom. The lace cap, trimmed with lace is of



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PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES. PLATE II.

- 1, CANTERBURY. 2, LULLINGSTONE CASTLE. 3, STONELEIGH ABBEY.
(copyright)

dark green. On this figure, Mr. Hartshorne writes as follows:

The costume is that of a Flemish gentlewoman, 1610 to 1620, in the character of a housemaid apparently, but it is more probable that she actually did sweep her own house. The falling ruff and 'cuffs of Flanders' are very characteristic of the time in Flanders.

The only part of the dress that belongs to a housemaid is the long and large white apron; the apron of a lady of that period would be much smaller and would have a wide geometric pattern lace on its borders. See Mrs. Palliser's *History of Lace*.

It remains to add that the figure is feather-edged or bevelled off from the back to a fine edge. There are hooks and a rope at the back to keep it in its place, while a little wooden ledge at the bottom keeps it away from the wall, against which it stands. It measures 5 feet 5 inches high from the ground, by 2 feet at the greatest width. At some time or other, this figure has lost a piece from the head, on the right side.

There is a Picture Board Dummy at Lullingstone Castle, Kent, which Sir W. H. Dyke, M.P., informs me

Is supposed to represent a housemaid who nursed Van Dyck through a dangerous illness when staying in the house. The legend in the family is that he painted this as a recognition of the *attention and care he received. I do not vouch for the accuracy of this, but simply state the legend as handed down to me by my father.

By permission of Sir W. H. Dyke, I have had a photograph taken of this figure.¹ Any one who compares this photograph with the sketch by Lady Leigh of the Stoneleigh Abbey sweeping housemaid or the photograph will be struck by the similarity between the two figures:—identical in the attitude, and almost so in the costume, down to the double lace ruffles, the bracelets, and the ring. So identical indeed is the costume of the Lullingstone housemaid with that of the Stoneleigh housemaid that it is unnecessary to describe it at length, further than to say that the dress is green with white lace; the bodice a pale yellow with open work and slashed sleeves; the colours are all faded and yellowed with age. This

¹ Taken for me by Mr. C. Essenhigh indebted for most of the particulars Corke of Sevenoaks, to whom I am also - utilised above.

figure must also represent a Flemish gentlewoman, 1610 to 1620, sweeping her own house, and must be the work of the same artist that painted the Stoneleigh Abbey figure.

The Lullingstone Castle housemaid stands 5 feet 2 inches high, and is feather-edged or bevelled off from the back. This figure is evidently in its original state, and has not been done up, with the exception that the back has been covered with canvas at some remote period, extending right up to the feather-edge. The woodwork is much worm eaten. The figure is strengthened by a batten running up the back, with several cross pieces. The arrangement for making the figure stand upright is extremely quaint:—two pieces of wood, cut out in the likeness of the sole of the foot, are set on the bottom of the figure, projecting about four inches to the front; the heels extend to the rear, one of the heels is broken off, but the other has a hole in it, by which the figure can be screwed or nailed to the floor. These projecting feet, raising the figure an inch from the ground add much to the deception. The figure stands at Lullingstone Castle in an alcove in the principal staircase, about 14 or 16 feet from the ground.

There is in the Deanery of Canterbury, the property of Mrs. Rudge of the Whins, Camberley, another pretty housemaid, which a photograph shows to be identical with those at Stoneleigh Abbey and at Lullingstone Castle. The colour of the dress in this case is dark green. This figure is 5 feet 3 inches high and is painted upon boards, nearly an inch thick, and very rough on the back, and is feather-edged or bevelled from the back to the front. There are no means of making it stand upright, by itself. It was formerly the property of a Mrs. Froggatt, great aunt to Mrs. Rudge. She was a Miss Freeman and died in the year 1850, at Windsor, in which neighbourhood she had spent all her life. The story told about the figure in Mrs. Froggatt's time was that it represented a housemaid called "Judy", who was so lovely that her mistress had her dressed up in her own gown and lace, but that it should not be forgotten she was really the housemaid, she was painted with her broom in her hand. Be the story what it may, Miss Judy is no

housemaid but one with and the same Flemish gentlewoman we have met at Stoneleigh Abbey and Lullingstone Castle. We have reproduced, side by side on one plate, these three ladies for the purpose of comparison. See Plate II, fig. 1, 2, 3.

There is another sweeping housemaid at Castle Howard¹—a lady with a broom and housemaid's apron. She wears the Fontange, Commode, or Tower headdress. The bodice of her dress is cut low and square in front and has a linen tucker. Its skirt is covered by the housemaid's apron, and by a long upper garment or mantle, reaching to the ground, and open in front in a V-shape from the shoulders to the waist, showing a turn over or trimming of a lighter colour. The sleeves are wide and rolled back to the elbows, showing loose linen sleeves underneath. The costume bears a striking resemblance to that of a lady given by Lewis Wingfield (*Notes on Civil Costume in England*, entitled "Anne 1714, Painted Screen"). The Castle Howard "sweeping housemaid" or lady masking as such may be put down as English, time of Queen Anne.

I am indebted to the kindness of Lord Carlisle and the Hon. Geoffrey Howard for a photograph which is reproduced with this paper. Plate I, fig. 4.

Of the next sweeping housemaid that I shall introduce, Sir Henry Dryden supplies the following account:—

BOARD FIGURE OF HOUSEMAID

This is now in the possession of J. E. A. Wynne, Esq., of Folkington, near Polegate, Sussex. He bought it in Essex about

¹In connection with the Sweeping Housemaid at Castle Howard, it may be well (to avoid the confusion that has often arisen between the two), to say that there is at Castle Howard an unfinished picture by Gainsborough, a portrait of the Hon. Mrs. Graham, wife of General Lord Lynedoch; she is represented in the dress of a country girl sweeping out a cottage porch. There is a famous portrait of this lady by the same artist in the National Gallery of Scotland.

The Hon. Mary Cathcart, second daughter of Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart, was born in 1757, was married at seventeen to Thomas Graham of Balgowan, better known afterwards as Lord

Lynedoch, one of the most daring of the heroes of the Peninsular War. She died childless in 1792.

"Inconsolable for the loss of his beautiful and amiable lady, the gallant Graham, at the age of 43, entered on the arduous and chivalrous career, in which he achieved such high honours. He died in 1843, at the age of 94. After Mrs. Graham's death, her husband, unable to look on her portrait, gave orders that it should be bricked up at the end of the room where it hung, and its existence was forgotten, and only discovered fifty years afterwards, during alterations made in the house by another proprietor." (Catalogue of the National Gallery of Scotland.)

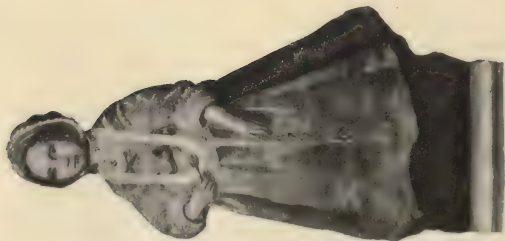
1870, and was told it came from Suffolk. It is now about 5 feet 2 inches high, but has evidently lost a portion at the bottom as it is not now level and the lower part is somewhat decayed. I have an outline of it traced round the edge of the wood, and so far correct, with the interior parts roughly sketched in, done for me by Mr. Gwynne in December, 1893. It is painted on what appears to be pitch pine $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick and feather-edged, as the other figures of this class. About a foot from the base, at the back, is a mark as if a fastening had been fixed there. Mr. Gwynne cannot see any sign of a fastening near the shoulders but there must have been one.

The face is of fair complexion, very pretty and well painted, of eighteen or twenty years of age. The hair is light brown, turned up and back from the face, raised loosely above the scalp and without any descending locks. The dress is bright red with scarlet flowers, fastened up on one side so as to show a black petticoat. A large white apron covers most of the skirt. A white scarf edged with lace is round the neck. The arms below the elbows are bare, and she holds a broom with both hands. It appears to represent a lady rather than a housemaid. The following story is told of this figure. It represents Lady Sarah * * * ? who, in the time of Charles I, introduced herself into an inn where some Roundheads were stopping, with the object of learning their plans, and to enable her to carry out her purpose, adopted the dress of a housemaid. It does not appear to me that the dress agrees with this date. I have a drawing to one-eighth full size, reduced from the full sized one.

H. Dryden.
1894.

Mr. Hartshorne assigns this figure to the time of George II, 1750.

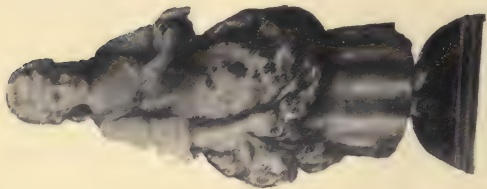
With the exception of two seen some time ago by Lady Leigh in a curiosity shop, which I have not yet traced, this completes the list of "Picture Board Dummies" representing those so-called "Sweeping or Pretty Housemaids." But the name is clearly a misnomer: it is curious that, in the case of every one of these figures, one or other of my local correspondents [Lady Leigh, Mr. Essenhugh Corke, Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Dryden, Mr. Hartshorne, etc.], makes the same remark that the figure represented is not that of a housemaid, but that of a lady: in the Stoneleigh Abbey, Lullingstone Castle, and Canterbury Deanery instances, of a Flemish gentlewoman: in the others, of an English lady. No reliance can be placed upon the stories told of these "Pretty Housemaids;" they are evidently subsequent inventions, and I should imagine the figures had all been acquired by the ancestors or predecessors of the present owners from some curiosity shop or some sale or other.



1



2



3



4

PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES. PLATE III.
1 & 2, SUDELEY CASTLE. 3 & 4, EASTON NESTON.

It may be convenient to here arrange this class in a chronological table.

Locality.	Date.	Costume.
Stoneleigh Abbey	1610 to 1620	Dutch.
Lullingstone Castle ..	1610 to 1620	"
Canterbury Deanery ..	1610 to 1620	"
Castle Howard	Queen Anne	English.
White Hart, Chelmsford ..	George I., 1720	"
Folkington	George II., 1750	"

That the first three are by the same artist and from the same model cannot be doubted. Who was he? Hardly Van Dyck,¹ despite the Lullingstone Castle tradition! The costumes put him out of question. At any rate further evidence is needed, and a careful examination made of the figures themselves, and not of sketches and photographs. And who was the fair lady with the bright brown eyes, smiling cherry lips, and hands of unusual delicacy, who sat for the Lullingstone Castle, Stoneleigh Abbey, and Canterbury "Pretty Housemaids?"

CLASS III.—CHILDREN.

AND

CLASS IV.—MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES.

I shall now proceed to call attention to "Picture Board Dummies" of a more miscellaneous character, among which figures of children are sufficiently numerous to form a separate class.

By the kindness of Mrs. Dent, of Sudeley Castle, through the Rev. John Taylor, of Winchcombe, I have received photographs of two Dummies at that place whose existence was first made known to me by Mr. F. B. Garnett, C.B. See Plate III, fig. 1 and 2. The first is a three-quarter-length of a lady, and is about 4 feet 6 inches high. She wears an elaborately trimmed laced and starched cap and cuffs and a ruff. Her dress is described to me as "of olive-green slightly dashed with gold"; it is loose round the waist; the sleeves are full and high on the shoulders,

¹ Van Dyck, no doubt, visited at Lullingstone Castle. He had a country house at Eltham, not far off, where he spent the summer, living in great style.

and tight at the wrists. Her left hand holds her gloves, while her right toys with a string of pearls which hangs round her neck. A chatelaine made of several fine chains is suspended from her waist and carries some small object. The index and little fingers of both hands wear gem rings. This is the costume of a Dutch lady of rank, *circa* 1590. The second figure at Sudeley Castle is about 4 feet high, and represents a child with round, staring eyes, in a dress of delicate sea-green, trimmed with lace. The sleeves are low on the shoulders and loose at the lower ends, reaching about halfway between wrist and elbow. A jewelled necklace carries a small locket with pendant pearls. The broad ribbon which hangs round the child's neck down to her waist, and her waistband are gold coloured. Her right hand holds a red spoon, and from her left hangs a chain with a ring at the end. She wears a cap turned back at the edge and trimmed with lace; a bow of ribbon at the left side. This is the costume of an English child about 1630-40; the shape of the dress on the shoulder shows that it cannot be earlier.

Both of these figures are of oak, feather-edged or bevelled from the back to the front: the panel on which the lady is painted is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick: that on which the child is is $\frac{3}{8}$ inch. Each figure is made to stand by being fitted into a base of oak about five inches thick. There is consequently no hook, staple, or ledge at the back. "It is impossible," writes Mr. Taylor, "to look at them without perceiving that they are portraits, but nothing is known respecting the originals."

The suggestion was made by a writer in the *Athenæum* of March 5th, 1892, that one of these dummies had been cut out of a picture on panel. That seems very improbable: it would be very difficult to saw a figure out of a picture on panel, following the exact outline, and then to bevell it off from the back without injuring the painting in the process, while the figure would probably at once, under the altered conditions of its existence, warp and crack.¹ These two dummies are beautiful works of

¹ In making a "Picture Board Dummy," the outline was probably first drawn by the artist roughly on the wood

and then cut out, and bevelled from the back, by the joiner, before the artist commenced to paint.

art, and I would especially call attention to the child whose quaintness is inimitable.

There are two Dummies at Knole, which, by special permission of Lord Sackville, have been photographed by Mr. C. Essenhugh Corke, of Sevenoaks. They represent a lady and gentleman of the time of William III. Plate I, fig. 1 and 2. She wears a white or buff skirt with flounces and laced sleeves, and a black mantilla; her head-dress is a "Fontange" of red with white lace, thus fixing the date between 1694-1699, or, if the figure is English work, perhaps a little later—Queen Anne, 1702 to 1714. She is 5 feet 7 inches in height from the floor to the top of the Fontange. The costume of the gentleman corresponds in date: he wears a long red coat with black buttons, buff waistcoat with two rows of buttons, not of same length as the coat, white cravat and stockings; has black shoes, and a large black hat which he carries in his right hand. The sleeves of his coat are doubled and buttoned back to show the lace cuffs of the shirt sleeves. He wears a short or bob wig. He is 5 ft. 3 in. in height from the floor to the top of the wig. These figures are excellent works of art, particularly the lady; the colours are a little faded, and the whites are much yellowed by age, as the varnish has changed colour. Both of them are feathered edged or bevelled from the back; they appear to have been done up, and weighted with heavy wood at the bottom, from the knees downwards; they stand by means of a piece of iron, shown in the photographs, which projects equally front and back and keeps the figures from the wall, so that, as in the Sudeley Castle instances, neither hoops, staples, nor ledges are necessary. No history is known of these figures, except that they were purchased by the late Lady Sackville.

I am indebted to Sir Henry Dryden for the following account of Board Figures in Sir Thomas Hesketh's house at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire. Plate III, figs. 3 and 4:—

These figures are of a boy and girl. They were bought about 18 * * by Sir Thomas Hesketh from Mr. Lichfield, a well-known dealer works of art. Mr. Lichfield said they came from * * They are painted on *canvas* (thus differing from most or all of the other

figures) and the canvas is neatly cut to the required shape and mounted on a wooden panel of exactly the same size. The panel is about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, is feather-edged as the others, and is covered with canvas at the back which is painted brown. The wood is whitish, but the sort is not ascertained. Each figure stands on a base of segmental form which has been mounted on a modern base. From the bottom of the segmental piece to the top of the hair of the boy is 3 ft. $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. and of the girl 4 ft. $0\frac{1}{4}$ in. Both are very well painted but appear to have been injured in parts and repainted by a less good artist than the original one. Both are full face to the spectator. The boy has no covering on the head. He is 3 ft. 6 in. from the bottom of his heels to the top of the hair which is turned up, partly in curls, and powdered. He has a white lace neck cloth with long ends down to the waist. The coat and breeches are of a light greenish blue. The coat has a gold-lace edging. The cuffs are white and edged in the same way. Elaborate lace-ruffles project beyond the cuffs. The breeches show no garter or buttons. The stockings are white and the shoes which are high-heeled are puce. The toes are rather wide. Under the left arm he holds a dull red cap apparently of a soft material with irregular edge and three-cornered. The girl has no covering on the head. She is 3 ft. 9 in. from the bottom of the heels to the top of the hair. The hair is long and curly and turned up, except a row of curls along the forehead, and powdered. She has a gown of full dimensions of a drab ground and richly ornamented with light green sprigs and red and blue flowers. It is looped up on each side and partly held up by the right hand. Loose white sleeves terminate at the elbows and the lower parts of the arms are bare. The petticoat is dull yellow. The gown is open at the chest the bodice coming to a point, and the two sides are connected by red laces, showing a yellow waistcoat or the upper part of the petticoat underneath. A yellow frill is apparently attached to the top of the bodice. The stockings are pinkish and the shoes high-heeled and black, with the toes rather wide and large red rosettes at the usual place. Sir Thomas Hesketh thinks it likely that they are French; but there is no reason why they should not be English. It has been asserted that figures of children such as these, and those of the lady and gentleman at Knole and some others were fire-screens, but there is no evidence that this was their use, and it is unlikely that figures so well painted as these should have been exposed to such heat as that use would cause."

Such heat would dry the glue which binds the canvas to the wood, and cause the canvas to peel off.

Mr. Hartshorne says these figures are in court costume of the time of George III, say 1775.

Some members of the Institute may chance to recollect that during the Chester Meeting in 1886 we visited Chirk Castle, and saw there two charming "Picture Board Dummies" of a Dutch boy and girl. Plate IV. By the kindness of Mr. Myddelton Biddulph, I have been allowed



PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES. PLATE IV.

CHIRK CASTLE.

to have photographs taken, and I am also indebted to that gentleman for several particulars. The figure of the boy¹ is 3 ft. 8½ in. high, and 1 ft. 8¼ in. from hand to elbow. The figure of the girl is 3 ft. 6 in. high, with a width of 10 in. across the elbows and 19½ in. across the skirts. Both wear black dresses with tight brocaded sleeves of violet colour down to the wrists; the boy has long skirts, like those of an ulster coat, reaching to his heels, open down the front, and disclosing a white petticoat with ornamental work below. Both have lace trimmed falling bands or collars round the neck, lace trimmed ruffles and bracelets at the wrists; he has a lace trimmed handkerchief hanging from his girdle, and she has a lace trimmed cap, and apron of white.² He has a walking staff with an ornamental and tasselled handle in his right hand, and an apple in his left. She carries a basket of apples on her left arm, and has an apple in her left hand, while with the right she points to the basket. As represented in the photograph the boy is turning round to give some directions to the girl. It has been suggested that both figures are female, and that they represent a Dutch gentlewoman with her servant maid behind her out marketing, and I was at first rather inclined to think so; but the dresses are the usual dresses of children in Holland *c.* 1630, and Mr. Hartshorne tells me pictures of children so dressed are in the Museum at Amsterdam.³ These figures are painted upon mahogany⁴ boards ¾ in. thick, and stand on plinths about 10 in. by 4 in. They are feather edged or bevelled from the back, and were purchased by the late Colonel Myddelton Biddulph about

¹ This figure is always said to be that of a boy, and the face is that of a boy, but he wears a decided petticoat under his long coat skirts. That, however, seems to have been the dress of a young Dutch boy of about 1630.

² Aug. 17, 1716. R. Graham to the beautiful Mrs. Anne Chauncy of Ardeley or Yardley, Hertfordshire.

"Our Prince and Princess of Wales dine every day at H. Court in public; surrounded with a crowd of white aprons and straw hats: which doubtless must needs be very delightful to them, because it puts 'em in mind of the place from whence they came." Original corres-

pondence, 1633-18 28. Families of Rogerson, Postlethwayt, Kerrick. vol. xxvii, in the possession of Albert Hartshorne.

³ A girl and two boys similarly dressed are in Jan Steen's well known picture, "The Feast of St. Nicholas" in the Ryks Museum, Amsterdam.

⁴ Mahogany did not come into general use in England until the 18th century, but it was imported from South America and the West Indies, by Sir W. Raleigh towards the end of the 16th century: some would find its way to Holland early.

30 years ago at a sale, but whether in London, or in the vicinity of Chirk Castle is not known. They are certainly Dutch, of about the earlier 17th century. They are called at Chirk Castle "fire screens," and are supposed to be such, but I do not know if they ever actually see or have seen service in that capacity.

There is a figure of a child at Lowther Lodge, of which the Hon. Mrs. William Lowther has furnished me with particulars. Figure of a child, painted on wood somewhat worm eaten, bevelled from the back and fixed into a solid block of wood, of evidently a more recent date. The child, a girl, has a red dress, low at the neck, with white lace *fichu*, and carries in her arms a white shawl or cloak with lace border, and a black and white toy terrier. The hair is done up in two high curls upon the forehead under a mob cap of red with white lace. This figure was purchased by Mrs. Lowther at Oxford twenty years ago. I venture to assign it to the reign of George II.

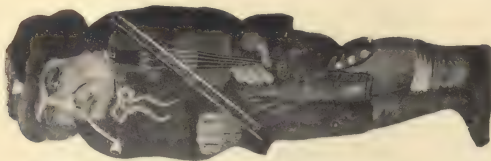
At Teith Rectory Rutland, there is a Picture Board Dummy of a girl with a dog, of which I have an outline sketch by Sir Henry Dryden, who has promised to supply further information. This seems to date from the end of the reign of George II, but there is not much to go by.

His Honour Judge Lushington has a Dummy of a girl holding a dog; it is painted on canvas and glued to a board, bevelled from the back to the front. It is 42 in. in height and is said to have been purchased at Christie's about 15 years ago. From a pencil sketch, kindly sent by Miss Lushington, its date would seem to be 1720.

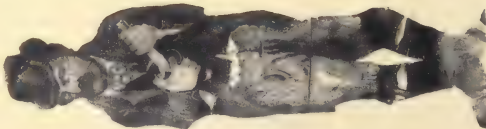
Mr. R. S. Burnett-Stuart of Crichtie, Mintlaw, Aberdeenshire, has two Picture Board Dummies: in reply to a request for information he kindly sent me a coloured sketch of one. It represents a young lady with very florid complexion, in a mob cap, and dress low at the neck, seated in a high backed chair, while a dog climbs upon her lap. The other figure is the same but reversed, and is supposed to be a copy (reversed) with some small variations from the first by an inferior artist. Each figure is 2 ft. 8 in. high, painted upon wood, feather edged from the back. Little is known of their history: they were in the old house of Crichtie which was built about



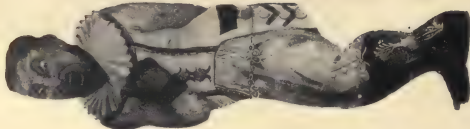
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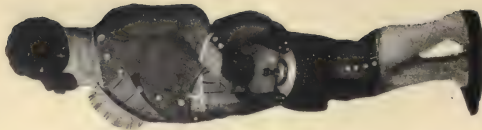
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5

PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES. PLATE V.

HENLE HALL, CHIRK.

1715, from which they were removed many years ago by a tenant. About twenty years ago they were given back to Mr. Burnett-Stuart by the minister of the parish. Their date judging from the costume is about 1760.

Of miscellaneous Picture Board Dummies Mr. Whitfield possesses four in addition to the two soldiers already described. These represent an aged and wistful looking gardener in his shirt sleeves, leaning upon his spade. A grim looking and aged milkmaid with milk pail upon her head. A standing woman with a child in her arms, and a seated woman with another child. The costume is of the peasant class, and presents little very distinctive, but is foreign. The particulars as to history, etc., given by Mr. Whitfield's two soldiers, apply to these four figures.

Through the kindness of Mr. Laver, F.S.A., of Colchester, I have received a photograph of a Dummy the property of Mr. Keeling of Colchester. It is said to be the portrait of a gigantic hall porter, who lived in the family of Hele of Flete, in Devonshire, in the time of James I. From the Heles it passed to the Bulteels, one of whom gave it to Mr. Keeling about 20 years ago, Mr. Keeling and his mother being both connected with that family. The details of the costume are difficult to make out from the photograph, but it is certainly that of the time of the Civil Wars. The person represented is 7 ft. 11 in. in height from his heels to the top of his head, and wears a voluminous cloak and huge jack boots; a belt over his right shoulder supports a rapier while his right hand holds a quarter-staff: his cuffs and large falling band, fastened by tasselled strings are of plain linen with a little ornamental edging. I am indebted to Mrs. Keeling for assistance with the details.

Major Lovett of Hénlle Hall, Chirk, has sent me particulars of an extraordinary collection of dummies which have been long lying in an attic in that place. They are six in number, and are painted in oil colours on thick card-board. Some of them have laths stitched on the back to make them stand up, but they are all out of repair and have been much knocked about. No history appears to attach to them. No. 1, is 5 ft. 10 in. high, and is intended, Major Lovett suggests, to represent

a robber; at any rate it represents a man dressed in a brown hat, a blue coat, much patched leather breeches, and long boots, showing dirty blue stockings, and armed with a flint and steel pistol. I am inclined to suggest that this figure represents some theatrical character of the day; Robert Macaire? No. 2, is a figure of a man, height 4 ft. 6½ in. hatless, dressed in white tailed coat with red facings and brass buttons, large falling collar trimmed with white, blue knee breeches, scarlet stockings, and black and yellow boots. The eyes and mouth of this figure are wide open, as if in terror, apparently the comic manservant of a pantomime. No. 3, 4 ft. 7½ in. high, represents a black footman in buff livery with pale yellow facings, holding a tea kettle by a red and blue kettle holder. No. 4, 3 ft. 3½ in. high. A dwarf with a very large head, pipe in mouth, and playing a fiddle. He is dressed in a red velvet coat and blue knee breeches; one stocking has slipped down; brown hat: No. 5, 3 ft. 3 in. high. A hideous monkey-faced dwarf playing the bag pipes. He wears a buff coat, red breeches and stockings, and much resembles Mr. Quilp. No. 6. A very ugly drunkard, holding a tankard of porter in his hand. This figure has lost the legs below the knees. (Not photographed.) Nos. 1 to 5 are reproduced with this Paper, see Plate V.

The faces, Major Lovett informs me, are very well done, but otherwise the execution is inferior to that of the Dutch children at Chirk Castle. It is curious that no history attaches to this very singular assemblage, which, from the unusual material on which they are painted, and from the dress and other circumstances, we may consider to be in some way connected one with the other. Major Lovett from the dress considers them to be nearly one hundred years old. Mr. Lewis, of Oswestry, to whom these figures have been sent for repairs, is of opinion that they are the work of some person at Shrewsbury, to whom Mr. Lewis's father was apprenticed about the beginning of this century, and who used to do this sort of work. I should think their date was about 1820, and that research among a collection of theatrical portraits and pictures might identify them.

There are two Picture Board Dummies at Powderham

Castle, Devonshire, each 48 in. high. One represents a man standing, with yellow coat and mantle : the other a woman in a blue dress, sitting down with a small dog in her lap. These figures are painted on canvas and glued to wooden boards. My information is not sufficient to enable me to date these figures. They are bevelled from back to front.

We can now put these two classes into chronological order.

CLASS III.—CHILDREN.

1 child, a girl	Sudeley Castle, 1630 ..	Dutch.
2 children, boy and girl ..	Chirk Castle, 1630 ..	"
1 girl with dog	Judge Lushington, 1720..	English.
1 child, girl with dog ..	Lowther Lodge, George II.	"
1 child with dog	Teith Rectory, George II.	"
2 girls with dogs	Crichie, 1760	Scotch.
2 children, boy and girl ..	Easton Neston, 1775 ..	English.

CLASS IV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

1 lady	Sudeley Castle, 1590 ..	Dutch.
1 hall porter ?	Colchester, 1644-1650 ..	English.
2 lady and gentleman ..	Knole, Queen Anne ..	"
4 various	Hull, Mr. S. S. Whitfield, 1720	Foreign.
6 various	Henlle Hall, 1820 ..	English.
2 lady and gentleman ..	Powderham Castle, n.d. ..	"

It is to be noticed that in these two classes and in the class of "Pretty Housemaids," the earliest and the best examples are all Dutch work, the earliest in the class of "Pretty Housemaids," being referred by the costume to 1610-1620; the earliest in the class of children to 1630: and the earliest in the miscellaneous class [the lady at Sudeley Castle] to 1590, whilst the earliest dated figures in the first class of all, that has been under consideration in this paper, the class of grenadiers, in which the examples are almost exclusively English, date back no further than between the years 1714 and 1727. This leaves no doubt that these "Picture Board Dummies" had their origin in Holland: that the earlier instances found in England were imported from Holland, and that others, particularly military ones, were subsequently made in this country in imitation of the Dutch fashion. It was the vogue during the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), to imitate

the Dutch, and the late Mr. Lewis Wingfield in his *Notes on Civil Costume in England* p. 30, says:—

The costume of Queen Anne's time was the perfected result of British taste brought to bear upon Dutch modes, which in their turn were founded on those of France. In pictures of Dutch masters of the period we find undeveloped and incomplete Anne boots, Anne coats, Anne periwigs. The female *tête* and dress, as well as the male wig bear a close resemblance to those worn by the lieges of Louis Quatorze, carried from France to Holland.¹

Costume was not the only thing the English of Queen Anne imported from Holland.

Of Picture Board Dummies in their native country of Holland, for I do not think they can be traced back to France, Jonkherr Van Riemsdyk, of the National Museum at Amsterdam, writes in reply to inquiries made for me by Mr. Hartshorne

You can tell your friend that we have in our Museum no figures painted on boards to imitate life. Yet they are well known in our country, and I saw several in antiquarian shops. Most of them are from the latter part of the 17th century, till the middle of 1700. Particulars I cannot give: they are in general without any artistic value.

The question will be asked what was the object or the use of these quaint figures? Many persons will at once reply fire-screens, and a writer in the *Athenæum* of Feb. 20, 1892, takes that view. Other people have referred me to the Dummies at Knole as instances of fire-screens; and those at Chirk Castle are called "fire-screens." But whatever the Dummies at Knole may now be used for, or whatever those at Chirk may now be called is wholly immaterial to the issue: the Knole and Chirk Dummies are of unknown origin, purchased within the last 30 years.² There is, in fact, no evidence that the Knole, or Chirk Dummies, or any other Dummies ever were used as fire-screens; the presumption is they were never intended for such a use, for the Dutchmen, who invented them, did not use open fires, and so wanted no fire-screens. It is, too, unlikely, as Sir Henry Dryden observes, that figures so well painted would be exposed, intentionally, to such heat as their use as fire-screens would cause, and which in the case of Dummies painted

¹ This will account for a difficulty in determining whether a particular costume is Dutch or English.

² That is so with regard to the two

Knole Dummies mentioned in this paper; there is a third Dummy at Knole, which I have thought it unnecessary to mention, as it is quite modern.

on canvas and glued to wood, would soon make the canvas peel off.

What then were these Dummies? I answer they were "Whimseys," and I conclude as I began, with a sentence from Mr. Syer Cuming's paper in the 30th volume of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*.

Among other old whimses, which sprang up during the period indicated (the seventeenth century), was that of depicting different devices on flat boards, shaped according to the contour of the subject represented, and placed in such situations as would most readily lead the beholders to believe that they were gazing on realities instead of mere artistic deceptions. Holland appears to have been the natal land of this tricky conceit, which found a ready reception in England, and manifested itself in a variety of forms and ways.

I have to thank the various owners of the Dummies mentioned in this paper for their kindness in supplying me with information and sketches, and for permitting photographs to be taken; Mr. Essenhigh Corke for much trouble taken; Sir Henry Dryden for untiring energy in hunting up unknown examples and full particulars of them: to Mr. Hartshorne for assistance in dating the costumes; and to Mr. F. B. Garnett, C.B., who by sending me sketches from Sudeley and Knole, and by other assistance has much facilitated the writing of this paper.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES.

CLASS I.

FIGURES OF SOLDIERS.

2 Grenadiers	County Hotel, Carlisle	Described and illustrated in <i>Arch. Jour.</i> , vol. xlvii, p. 321.	Still at County Hotel
1 Grenadier	Canons Ashby (Sir H. Dryden)	ditto	Still at Canons Ashby
1 Grenadier	Black Boy, Chelmsford	Described and illustrated in <i>Gent. Mag.</i> , Dec. 1845.	
1 Grenadier	Bull, Dartford ..	Mentioned in <i>Gent. Mag.</i> , Dec., 1845.	Is not at the Bull now, and present landlord knows nothing of it.
2 Soldiers ..	Hunstanton Hall ..	Hamon le Strange, Esq.	Still there.
2 Soldiers ..	With S. S. W. Whitfield, Esq., 5, Sydenham Villas, Spring Bank, Hull.	Information and photographs from Mr. Whitfield through Sir H. Dryden.	Still with Mr. Whitfield.
1 Soldier in uniform of 1812	Seen up a passage at Oxford about two years ago.	Information from Mr. S. M. Milne.	

Mr. Syer Cuming also mentions the following places "where red coated soldiers were formerly on guard *al fresco*, but some of whom have scarcely existed within living memory"—Jenny's Whim, near Chelsea; the Red House, Battersea; the Green Man, Old Kent Road; the Montpelier Gardens, Walworth; tea garden near Brook Street, St. Mary's Newington; 45, Newington Place, Kennington (*Brit. Arch. Journ.* vol. xxx, p. 69); Bulwich, Northampton (2); Bilsby Hall, Lincolnshire (3); Seaford, Sussex; Shoreham (4); tea gardens at Bayswater (2); Picklescott, near Dorrington, Shropshire: (*Ibid.*, pp. 326, 327). It would be impossible, or almost so, to now trace these. Mr. Syer Cuming wrote twenty years ago and his information as to these Dummies was long anterior to the date of his paper.

12 Soldiers..	At Monastery of St. Florian, near Linz on the Danube, many years ago.	Sir Henry Dryden and Mr. Syer Cuming, <i>Brit. Arch. Jour.</i> , vol. xxx., p. 326.	
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CLASS II.

FEMALE FIGURES SWEEPING.

1 female, sweeping	White Hart, Chelmsford	Described and illustrated, <i>Gent. Mag.</i> , Dec., 1845.	Not to be found now.
1 ditto	Cobham Hall, Kent	Mentioned <i>Gent. Mag.</i> Dec. 1845.	Lord Darnley (1894) knows nothing of any such figure at Cobham Hall.
1 ditto	Knole	ditto	Not there now.
1 ditto	Stoneleigh Abbey..	Sketch and information from Lady Leigh.	Still there.
1 ditto	Lullingstone Castle, Kent.	<i>Brit. Arch. Jour.</i> , vol. xxx, p. 68. Information Sir W. H. Dyke and Mr. Essenhigh Corke.	" "
1 ditto	The Deanery, Canterbury.	Information from Miss Payne Smith and Mrs. Rudge.	" "
1 ditto	Castle Howard.	Information and photograph from Lord Carlisle and Hon. Geoffrey Howard.	" "
1 ditto	Follington, Polegate, Sussex.	Sketch and information from Sir H. Dryden.	" "
2 ditto	At a curiosity shop	Information from Lady Leigh.	

CLASS III.

FIGURES OF CHILDREN.

1 child, girl	Sudeley Castle. Mrs. Dent.	Information and sketches from F. B. Garnett, C.B., photograph and information, Mrs. Dent and Rev. John Taylor.	Still there.
2 children, boy and girl	Easton Neston, Sir Thomas Hesketh.	Information and sketch Sir H. Dryden.	" "
" "	Chirk Castle ..	Information from Mr. R. Myddleton - Bid-dulph.	" "
1 girl with dog	Hon. Judge Lush-ington.	Information Lord Car-lisle and Miss Lushington.	" "
1 child, girl with dog ..	Lowther Lodge.	Hon. Mrs. W. Lowther	" "
" "	Teitt Rectory.	Sir H. Dryden. ..	" "
2 children, girls with dogs	Crichie, Mintlaw, Aberdeenshire.	Mr. R. S. Burnett-Stuart.	" "

CLASS IV.

MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES.

2, lady and gentleman ..	Knole	Information and sketch from F. B. Garnett, C.B. Information and photographs, Mr. C. Essenhigh Cooke	Still there.
1 lady	Sudeley Castle ..	Information from F. B. Garnet, C.B., Rev. John Taylor, and Mrs. Dent.	" "
1 lady with dog	Powderham Castle, Devonshire.	Hon. Mrs. Pellew Bradshaw.	" "
1 gentleman	"	"	"
1 robber	"	"	"
1 person in a fright ..	Henlle Hall, Chirk.	Major Lovett	" "
1 black footman			
1 dwarf, fiddling			
1 dwarf, with flageolet ..			
1 drunkard	Colchester	Mr. Laver, F.S.A., Mrs. Keeling.	" "
1 porter			
1 gardener	Mr. S. S. W. Whitfield.	Information and photographs from Mr. Whitfield through Sir H. Dryden.	" "
1 milkmaid			
1 woman sitting with child			
1 woman and child standing	Vauxhall Gardens	<i>Brit. Arch. Jour.</i> , vol. xxx, p. 70.	No other in-formation.
1 hermit			
1 hermit	Frogmore	"	"
1 highlander	Borough Road, Southwark	"	"
1 highlander	The Oval	"	"
1 sailor	Dean's Row, Wal-worth.	"	"

It would probably be impossible to trace these last five now.

The writer was told that "Picture Board Dummies" existed at Farnham Castle, Winchester Deanery, Levens Hall, etc.; inquiry, however, proved there were none.

P.S.—Since the above was in print, I have received photographs from Mr. Hamon le Strange of the two grenadiers at Hunstanton Hall: they are identical, and appear to be Dutch grenadiers of from 1700 to 1710. They are dressed in dark blue coats much faded, and turned up and lined with red: mitre headdress on which *Pro Patria* [et] *Libertate*. The position is that of present arms. They are both moustached, which show they are foreign: the figures are bevelled-edged from back to front. The legs in both cases are mainly modern repairs.

THE MINING OPERATIONS AND METALLURGY OF THE
ROMANS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, BEING THE
OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION
AT THE SHREWSBURY MEETING.¹

By the Rev. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

Irrespective of the occasional and long buried architectural or military remains of Roman occupation, the two most obvious marks of their prowess, which the conquerors stamped upon the provinces and districts they subdued, were the proofs of their skill in (1) road making, and in (2) mining. This has more than once been pointed out by others than the quasi-professional antiquary. The late Mr. Warrington Smyth says:—"Among the various ways adopted by the Romans for augmenting the commerce of their settlements there are two, of which the traces still remain, the improvement in communication by the laying out of good roads, and the developement of the mineral wealth of a country by mining; and since authenticated remains of the latter are very rare in this country, it becomes important to examine with care whatever is attributed to the agency of that great people, and to compare it with their known works in other parts of the world."²

To this may be added the opinion of a yet more eminent man, the late Dr. Phillips, who was president of the Geological Society, and Reader in Geology in the University of Oxford. "I presume," he says, "to think that without full attention to the mining history of Britain, as indicated by fragments in classic authors, and illustrated by processes not yet extinct, and discoveries made from time to time, the opinion which may be formed of the

¹ Read at the Music Hall, July 27th, 1894. This address has undergone some slight revision and addition since it was delivered, Dr. Cox having availed himself of information and corrections that were offered by Lord Dillon, Sir Henry Howorth, Chancellor Ferguson,

Mr. Waldron, Mr. Fox and others during the interesting discussion that followed the reading of the paper.

² Warrington Smyth's *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain*, vol. i., p. 480.

ancient British people would be altogether conjectural, derogatory, and erroneous."¹

It is simply proposed on the present occasion to endeavour to present a general survey of the question of Roman mining operations among us, availing myself of the labours of others in the past in the same direction, such as the essays of the late Messrs. Thomas Wright, James Yates, John Phillips, Albert Way, and John Taylor,² together with the record of discoveries of much more recent date, and contributing some small amount of original research, particularly in my own county of Derby.

The more the mining operations of the Romans in Britain are considered, and the more the facts and discoveries pertaining thereto are collected together, the more clearly is it demonstrated that their work in this respect was characterised by the painstaking thoroughness and the wisdom which were the usual elements of Roman rule. The ancient inhabitants whom they subdued had already attained to some proficiency in the elements of mining and still more in the working of metals, but under the Romans the mines of Britain were marvellously and generally developed, and maintained in working order throughout the whole of their occupation. It seems tolerably certain that Britain was the most productive mineral territory held by the Romans (with the solitary exception of Spain), and to the prosecution of mining and metallurgy our conquerors applied far greater energy than to any other branch of industry. If it is asked what special motive, in addition to the prevailing ideas of love of power and greed of annexation (which are ever the temptation of big empires), induced the Romans to subdue distant Britain, and to retain it so long within their grasp, the answer is not far to seek. There can hardly be any doubt that the chief inducement was the knowledge of the mineral wealth of Britain—lead, tin, copper, silver, gold,

¹ *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, March, 1848.

² Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary* (1854), and *Roman Mining Operations in Shropshire and North Wales*, *Intellectual Observer* (1862). Yates' *On the Mining Operations of the*

Romans in Britain (Somersetshire Arch. Soc. 1858). Phillips' *Ancient Metallurgy in Britain* (*Arch. Journal*, 1859). Way's *Relics of Roman Metallurgy* (*Arch. Journal* 1859 or 1865). Taylor's *Archæology of the Coal Trade* (*Proc. of Arch. Institute*, 1852).

and iron. It was this that caused the Romans so speedily to penetrate to and to establish themselves in districts so remote from the sea-board as the Peak of Derbyshire (the very navel of England) and the borders of Wales.¹

Tin, the *plumbum album* of Pliny (to distinguish it from *plumbum nigrum* or lead) had been exported in great quantities from Britain long before the Roman invasion. That it came from Cornwall is a certainty, as it is found in no other county. Cornwall, in the opinion of Dr. Phillips (and he gives excellent reasons for his supposition), "chiefly, if not wholly, supplied the tin which entered so many ways into the comforts and necessities, during peace and war, of all the nations surrounding the Mediterranean and Euxine, Baltic and German Ocean; in fact, the world, as distinctly known to the Roman geographers." The discovery of a number of Roman coins among the tin workings of Cornwall seems to be a proof of their continuous presence in this rich mineral district, which was doubtless speedily under their control. Mr. Yates considers that there is sufficient reason to believe that the Emperor had Roman soldiers stationed at the Cornish mines to superintend the working, and to transport the tin to the seat of the empire. But few traces have been found of early blocks or pigs of tin. A remarkable specimen of a double pig of tin, about 3 ft. long by 1 ft. wide, was dredged up in Falmouth harbour at the beginning of the century, and is now in the museum at Truro. Another portion of a pointed ingot or pig of tin, found in the parish of Mawgan-in-Pyder, is in the same museum. Both of these are figured in the Journal of our Institute for 1859. A rude smelted block of tin, supplied by Mr. G. N. Simmons, found in Ladock, near Truro, and supposed to have been smelted when the Phœnicians traded to Cornwall for tin," formed part of the mineral-product exhibits of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The tin ore first obtained would, almost of necessity, be that which is called "stream" tin, and it is not a little remarkable to note the accuracy of Pliny's description: "It is a sand, of a black colour, found on the surface of

¹ Cæsar, in his hasty comments on the mineral products of the country he had subdued, says:—"Nascitur ibi

plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum, sed exigua est copia" (B.G., v., 12).

the earth, and is only to be detected by its weight. Small pebbles occur along with it, especially in the dry courses of torrents. The miners wash these sands and smelt what subsides in furnaces.”¹ Mr. Yates believes that the chief use of Cornish tin was to serve as a flux for copper. He rightly points out that copper by itself would have been nearly infusible; and that the tin by itself would have been weak, soft, and comparatively useless. When, however, a small portion of tin was added to the copper, the bronze resulting from the admixture was hard enough to be formed into tools and weapons of various kinds, and to make, in short, the implements for which iron was afterwards used. But there is no proof forthcoming that this discovery in the fusing of metals was made in England in early days; on the contrary, Cæsar tells us that the bronze used by the natives of Britain was imported. It is difficult, however, to avoid believing that the Romans, at all events during the latter period of their occupation, mingled these metals into a valuable alloy in Britain itself, rather than exporting both of them for that process to be consummated farther south and then returned to our shores. We shall be able shortly to quote interesting and very recent evidence as to Romano-British mingling of copper and lead.

British tin being of such world-wide celebrity would be the first mineral to attract the attention of Roman mining enterprise, and we should have thought the last to provoke their skill in metallurgical operations. With regard to the Romans and the working of tin, it is, however, only right to give the decided and adverse opinion of my friend Mr. Haverfield, with whose knowledge of Romano-British subjects I do not for a moment feel that I can compete; though in this case I do not find myself entirely in accord. Mr. Haverfield in a communication made this year to the *Antiquary*, says:—“Writers on Roman Britain commonly assert that the most important mineral product of our island in Roman times was tin, but the assertion is a complete mistake. All our evidence goes to show that the tin trade of Cornwall died down about the Christian era, was not revived till the fourth century, and even then did not flourish very vigorously. If we ask what mineral

¹ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv., 16, 47.

was really abundant in Roman Britain, and what attracted Roman notice most, we must substitute lead for tin in our answer."

Second only to tin in importance, and of far greater archæological interest, owing to its much wider diffusion, comes lead. Before considering it in detail it may be well to offer a brief observation or two on Roman mining in general, and particularly with reference to the mining for lead. The operations of the miners under the Romans seem to have been in general similar to those which are still in use, but of course without the facilities that more recent discoveries and a greater knowledge of mechanics have brought into play. There is a good deal of evidence to be gleaned from contemporary writers as to the manner of their mining in Spain, whilst the researches of archæologists and the accidental discoveries of modern miners have yielded plain evidence of the work in Britain. The ore was first obtained near the surface, and the workings were abandoned as soon as their depth or the rise of unmanageable water rendered them unprofitable. Machinery was used to drain the mines. Diodorus and Strabo both make mention of Egyptian screws as employed for this purpose. By the Egyptian screw or pump is evidently meant the ingenious instrument known as the Screw of Archimedes. A remarkable discovery was made a few years ago in the ancient mines of Tharsis, near Huelva, in Spain, of an old Roman water-wheel, with fragments of the ropes still hanging to it by which the slaves kept it in continuous motion.¹ Pliny writing before A.D. 79 (when he died), tells us that lead was obtained both in Spain and Gaul from deep and laborious mines, but that in Britain it was found near the surface so abundantly as to suggest a law to check its production beyond a certain quantity.² This is a curious exemplification of early mining economics, and proves that the miners of to-day are not original in their endeavours to limit the out-put.

The surface lead veins in Britain of which Pliny speaks would be in four great districts. The first was in the

¹ See *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. vii., p. 280, where an illustration is given of this ancient wheel.

² *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv., 17, 49, "In Britannia summo terræ corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat."

south on the Mendips, above Cheddar, where the Roman Government had miners at work within six years of the landing of the Claudian legions.¹

The second was in the west, in the district of Ceangi, lying near the modern Flint, where lead mining was conducted by the government in or before the reign of Vespasian. In the reign of Domitian a barge containing a cargo of twenty lead pigs was wrecked in the Mersey, which was probably on its way to Chester or the interior of Britain.²

The third of these districts, and perhaps the most prolific, was in Derbyshire, the district of Lutudorum, which I can claim to have satisfactorily identified with Wirksworth, and not with Chesterfield as used to be contended. This district was being actively worked during the time of Hadrian.³ This surface working explains why so few ancient mining instruments have ever been found in the chief lead-bearing districts of Britain. The lead ore was probably collected from the surface by the aid of water artificially directed. The process, says Dr. Phillips, "is described by Pliny in terms so exactly applicable to the modern 'hushes' of Swaledale, that no doubt can remain of this custom, which is now esteemed rude and semi-barbarous, being of Roman or earlier date in Britain."

The fourth of Pliny's districts would be the important group of Shropshire lead-producing mountains known as the Stiperstones and its dependents, particularly Shelve Hill. Here Mr. Wright made most careful investigations, with the result that he found eight or nine parallel veins coming out on the surface of the rock, all of which had been worked by the Romans, beginning apparently from the bottom of the hill, and following the vein in the rock as far as they could trace it. The remains of their labour

¹ In the *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society*, for 1875 (pp. 1-5) is an interesting and well illustrated account by Mr. Waldron of Roman fibulæ and other ornaments of bronze, as well as glass and earthenware articles that he found at Charter House, on the Mendips range, about two miles from the Cheddar cliffs. These were discovered in 1873, when a company of mining adventurers were engaged in

collecting and re-smelting for lead the slag and cinders left there by the Romans during their occupation of Britain. This article is of much value in connection with Roman mining operations. My attention was not drawn to it until after the address was delivered.—J.C.C.

² Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1607), pp. 168, 463.

³ *Antiquary*, vol. xxix., p. 222.

are visible along the whole surface of the hill, like irregular cuttings along a large cheese. These Shropshire mines, which were extensively worked at the beginning of the second century,¹ afford interesting evidence as to how the Roman lead miners were gradually led on to deeper and more laborious undertakings. At the foot of Shelve Hill the veins of ore have been followed up in narrow cuttings, sometimes to a very considerable depth. In one instance a cutting is actually 120 ft. deep, and yet not wide enough at the bottom for more than one man to work in it. In other places where the vein of ore was wider and more massive, the Romans hollowed out caverns like chambers from which galleries ran in various directions. In one instance the vein has been followed down by a square² shaft of great depth but of small dimensions, various other shafts and galleries of undoubted Roman origin have been found in different parts of these Shropshire mountains.³ It is in these deep workings that the few mining implements of Roman days have been found. Two mining spades of cleft oak were found at Shelve Hill in the works of the "Roman Gravel Lead Mining Company," and were exhibited in the special museum formed at Shrewsbury in 1855 on the occasion of the meeting of the Institute.

Broadly speaking all mines under Imperial Rome were the property of the State. They were either left by the government in its own hands and worked without any middleman, or were less frequently let or leased to individuals for a royalty or rent. In the former case they would be worked under the immediate supervision of some imperial official, who would be empowered to stamp the moulds with his master's name. In most of the British lead districts it is known that this was the case from the numerous pigs of lead that have been found stamped with the names of successive emperors. But in the Derbyshire or Wirksworth district three out of the five inscribed pigs bear private names. Two names thus found last century were L. Aruconius Verecundus

¹ All the Shropshire pigs of lead bear the Emperor Hadrian's mark (A.D. 117-138).

² The Romans preferred square shafts. The several well shafts recently exposed

at Silchester are all square.

³ Mr. Wright published a full and most interesting account of the Roman lead mines at Shelve in the *Illustrated London News* of Oct. 4th, 1856.

and C. Julius Protus. To these may be added the name of Publius Rubrius Abascantus on a beautifully lettered pig found in Derbyshire, near Wirksworth, on March 24th, 1894, and which I had the honour to exhibit before the Society of Antiquaries on May 10th. These men must have been lessees, who hired the workings from the imperial treasury.

Mr. Haverfield thinks that this appearance of the name of lessees only in Derbyshire, calls for some special explanation, and is perhaps identified with certain laws or customs peculiar to the district. In this connection it is not a little remarkable to note that the Derbyshire lead-mining laws have always differed from those of other parts of the country, and do so to the present day. A formal inquiry was held as to their ancient customs as early as the reign of Edward I. The principal tract containing lead is still called the King's Field, and is co-extensive with the wapentake of Wirksworth, which was the district of Lutudensian metal worked by the Romans. It also includes a part of the High Peak. The mineral duties of the King's Field have been from time immemorial let on lease by the crown, part of the Oremaster's duty being to superintend the measurement of the ore and to receive the dues of the lessee of the crown. A perfect list of the crown lessees of the Wirksworth or main portion of the King's Field, has been drawn up from the time of Edward IV.

Between thirty and forty years ago, Mr. Albert Way drew up a list of Roman inscribed pigs found in England, which he supplemented a few years later, arranging them in order of date under their respective emperors. About the same time Mr. Yates, working independently, produced for the Somersetshire Archæological Society a like list classified according to counties. I have gone carefully through both these lists, have corrected them in some small particulars, and have brought them up to date with a few additions. The following is the result, given in the briefest form, of the distribution and date of these Romano-British leaden pigs:—Cheshire, 22; Sussex, 6; Derbyshire, 5; Shropshire, 5; Somerset, 4; Norfolk, 3 (inscriptions not known); Yorkshire, 2; Hampshire, Nottinghamshire, and Staffordshire, 1 each. This gives a total of 50, but it must be remembered that the large

number mentioned under Cheshire include the twenty wrecked in the Mersey, named by Camden, which were divided between the Emperors Vespasian and Domitian. If we arrange them according to date, we find the following result with regard to 45 of the 50. Britannicus (Tiberius Claudius), A.D. 44-48, one; Claudius, A.D. 41-54, six; Nero, A.D. 54-68, one; Vespasian, A.D. 69-79, fifteen; Domitian, A.D. 81-96, fourteen; Hadrian, A.D. 117-138; Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161; Antoninus and Verus, A.D. 163-169, one. From this it appears that these most striking evidences of Rome's working of Britain's lead all pertain to the earlier period of the Roman occupation. Some have deduced from this fact that the trade and working in lead fell away considerably after the time of Hadrian; but there is really no proof of this. A considerable number of pigs of lead of undoubted Roman smelting have been found from time to time uninscribed. As I write (July 15) news reaches me of one of this character just discovered at Bradwell, in Derbyshire. It is quite possible that the custom of lettering the pigs died out as time went on, and the country was more secure. Moreover, from the curious position in which some of these pigs have been found (particularly in Derbyshire), with heavy stones on the top of them, reversed, and near the surface, it seems likely that they were hidden away with fraudulent intent by workpeople or others, and afterwards lost sight of; and if this suggestion is correct, it is some proof of the unsettled condition of things in the earlier days of the occupation. Later on there would not be near so much opportunity for this intentional mislaying, and therefore all the less probability of finding pigs of a later date. At all events we know that the Romans continued to use lead largely to the end of their stay in these islands, and therefore they must have continued their mining operations at least for provincial use, if not for exportation.

The place where the beautifully-lettered pig face downwards was found near Wirksworth last Easter Eve was carefully examined.

The adjacent ground had been here and there scooped out into hollows. Fires had evidently been made in these hollows, and the lead smelted in them on the spot and poured into the mould. Various fragments of lead ore still

remained near the surface. These pigs would be cast wherever a sufficiency of surface lead could be found, and would be then left on the spot till they could be collected and taken away. In digging over the ground several curious branch-like pieces of thin rounded lead were found. These proved to be casts of fern roots. The molten lead when being smelted on the ground had burnt out the roots and thus left exact lead casts of their dimensions. The form of rude hearth-furnace that was used throughout the Wirksworth district till about 1720 (when the cupola began to succeed it) was probably identical with the means resorted to by the Romans. The Derbyshire hearth-furnace consisted of large rough stones, placed in the ground so as to form an oblong cavity, varying from one to two feet in width and depth, and from six to fourteen feet in length. Into this cavity the fuel and ore were put in alternate layers, the heat being raised by a large pair of bellows which were sometimes worked by a water-wheel. The fuel used was generally a mixture of wood and coal. As for bellows, we need not imagine that the Romans were not thoroughly habituated to their use; they were known at least a thousand years before Pliny.¹ This crude form of smelting left much metal in the slag, and the refuse heaps of the Roman miners of Derbyshire have yielded from time to time most excellent lead when re-smelted.

Some thirty years ago when studying the old parish registers of Ashover, Derbyshire, I was surprised to read the following entry:—"1660. Dorothy Matly, supposed wife of John Flint, of this parish, foreswore herself: whereon the ground open and she sanke over hed March 1st: and being found dead she was buried March 2nd." The explanation of this I curiously enough subsequently found in a rare tract of John Bunyan, called "The Life and Death of Mr. Badman," first published in 1680. He therein relates at length the story of Dorothy Matly, describing how she was engaged with many others in washing the rubbish from the old (Roman) lead mines,

¹ During excavations in Anglesea by Hon. W. O. Stanley, discovery was made of the vitrified nozzle of a bellows used for smelting purposes by the ancient Britons (*Arch. Journal*, vol.

xxvii., pl. 4). Artificial reservoirs have been discovered near Roman smelting furnaces in the Forest of Dean, which are supposed to have been used for the moving of bellows by water-power.

when she forswore herself, hoping that the earth would swallow her up if she had stolen the pence of which she was accused. The earth at that moment opened, she was buried to a depth of nine feet, and when the body was recovered, the pence was found in her clenched fist. I briefly allude to this story as the earliest instance I have met with of the trade of re-using the Roman slag of the Derbyshire lead mines.

The remarkable way in which mining customs have continued in this island for something like 1,000 years is further testified by the weight of these pigs. The modern pig of lead is about 1-16th of a fodder, or $176\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. The three Roman pigs found in Derbyshire last century weighed respectively 173 lbs., 127 lbs., and 83 lbs.; whilst the one discovered this spring was still nearer to the standard, viz., 175 lbs. A pig from the Wirksworth district, found in Derbyshire, weighed something over 180 lbs. In fact the average weight of all the discovered Roman pigs closely approximates to 176 lbs. The fodder of lead varies somewhat in different counties. In Saxon or early Norman times we know from Domesday that the Derbyshire *planstrata* or cartload consisted of ten *tabulæ* or pigs. The word fodder, or fudur, both in Saxon and German, signifies a cartload.

The Romans used the British lead for coffins and sepulchral cists, which they often ornamented with graceful and striking patterns. There are excellent examples in the British Museum and in the York Museum. There is also one in the Maidstone Museum, which was found at Plumstead, in Kent. They have likewise been found in Wilts, Essex, and Gloucestershire. A good many examples have been discovered in Normandy, and French archæologists are agreed that they are made from English lead. In Rome an immense quantity of early lead piping has been found, most of which probably came from Britain. The pipes were made of strips of cast lead bent round a rod and then soldered. Lead water pipes of Roman make are frequently found in England, as at Colchester, in Hadrian's Wall. At Bath there is a water channel 1 ft. 9 in. by 7 in. of lead nearly one inch in thickness. It was used for the lining of baths and cisterns. Sheets of lead 10 ft. long lined the basin of the great bath at Bath, weighing 30 lbs. to the

foot. It was also largely used by the Romans for roofing purposes. Small pieces of sheet lead pierced with nail holes have recently been found at Silchester. Occasionally, too, lead was used by the Romans for smaller and ornamental purposes. The refuse of the Mendip mines have yielded Roman lamps and other small articles of lead. The British Museum possesses a beautiful vase five inches high, ornamented with figures and emblems, and encircled with a belt of glass jewels, which is made of lead, and evidently from the subject of the decorations intended for a wine cup.

With regard to silver, mention must briefly be made of the well-known ingot of Roman silver preserved in the British Museum. It was found in 1777, within the Tower of London, at a great depth, with three gold coins of Arcadius and Honorius. It weighs 320 grammes, and is fully described in vol. V. of the *Archæologia*. The British Museum also possesses the silver ingots found near Coleraine, in Ireland, with a large hoard of silver Roman coins. The lead ore of this country has always an alloy of silver, and the Romans we know extracted it with great care, as is proved by the term EXARG on some of the Derbyshire lead pigs, testifying that the silver had been extracted, doubtless in accordance with the process detailed by Pliny.

As to the most precious of metals, there seem good reasons for believing that the ancient gold mine of Gogofau, near Llan-Pumpsant, in Carmarthenshire, as well as other Welsh mines that occasionally produced the like precious ore, were worked by the Romans.

Pliny gives us in full the three processes that were then known to the Romans for the obtaining of gold. There is no doubt whatever, although the precise localities may not be known, that the imperial exchequer of Rome was enriched by the proceeds of the gold and silver mines of Britain.¹

The rude cake of copper found last century at Caerhen (the ancient Conarium), four miles from Conway, is still at Mostyn. It weighs 42 lbs., is 11 in. in diameter, and is stamped deeply on the upper surface with the words "Socio Romæ," and in smaller letters Nat. Sol., supposed

¹"Fert Britannia aurum et argentum Tacitus, *Agricola*, cap. xii.
et alia metalla, pretium victoriae,"

to stand for *natale solum*. The late Mr. Wright produced abundant proof that the Romans had worked copper in various parts of Montgomeryshire and Denbighshire, and particularly at Llanymynech Hill, on the northern borders of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire. The Romans also worked copper in the Island of Anglesea. In the account of the excavations on the site of the Roman city of Silchester during 1893 by Messrs. Hope and Fox, just issued in the current number of *Archæologia*, there occurs a record of much interest with regard to our present investigation. Among the objects found in house Number 4, of Insula VIII., were pieces of metallic residue composed chiefly of lead and copper. In two chambers of this small house were the remains of the flue of some furnaces, which could not in any way be taken as forming part of a hypocaust, so that the supposition seems reasonable as to the house having been once occupied by a worker in metals. Prof. Roberts-Austen, C.B., of the Mint, analysed specimens of this Silchester residue. He pronounced one of the specimens to be metallic lead containing five ounces of silver to the ton, and considered it to be lead obtained by the direct smelting of lead ores, and that the metallic lead had not been desilverized. A second specimen was of considerable interest, for it was a product of smelting lead and copper ores. The metallic portion contained 67·64 per cent. of copper and 12·42 per cent. of lead. The amount of silver was no less than 45·87 ounces to the ton of the material. The mass, according to Professor Roberts-Austen, was probably obtained by smelting complex argentiferous lead and copper ore, but it may have been the result of melting together argentiferous lead and argentiferous copper with a view to desilverize the copper. Cakes or discs of such an alloy would be placed on a sloping hearth and heated to a temperature well above the melting point of lead, with a view to sweat out the lead from the copper, which could be left behind as a sponge. The lead would carry away the silver it originally contained, as well as any silver present in the copper. Elaborate accounts of this process were published in the sixteenth century, but it is interesting to find indications of its use in later Roman times, and the specimens certainly point to the possession

of considerable metallurgical knowledge by those who conducted the smelting operations which yielded these products.

The working of iron by the Romans was carried on after a most extensive fashion. In the operations connected with the mining and working of tin, lead, silver, gold, and copper, as we have just seen, there was considerable similarity between the methods then adopted and those that prevailed almost, if not down to our own times. But with regard to iron, the reverse is the case. The kinds of ore which the Romans used, as well as the smelting operations in iron, were completely different to and much more primitive than those now in vogue. The extensive strata of clay iron-stone of our carboniferous series were untouched by the Romans. The kinds of ore that they for the most part used were those which readily attract the attention of primitive people, and that lie near to or on the surface of the ground, such as hematite, nodules, and bog iron-ore, which are found among rocks of a comparatively recent geographical epoch. Our furnaces, too, are constructed on totally different principles. In the neighbourhood of Habitancum and Lanchester, near Hadrian's Wall, masses of iron slag, or scorïæ, were found on the enclosure of Lanchester common; two large heaps were removed for the purpose of road-making, one consisting of 400 and the other of 600 cartloads of dross. During the operation of bringing this common into cultivation, the method adopted by the Romans of producing the blast necessary to smelt the metal was made apparent. "Two tunnels had been formed in the side of the hill; they were wide at one extremity, but tapered off to a narrow bore at the other, where they met in a point. The mouths of the channels opened towards the west, from which quarter a prevalent wind blows in this valley, and sometimes with great violence. The blast received by them would, when the wind was high, be poured with considerable force and effect upon the smelting furnaces at the extremity of the tunnels."¹

Roman coins have been found under the refuse of hematite mines at Luxborough, on the Brendon Hills, near Minehead, and also amid similar workings at Luccombe on the

¹ Dr. Bruce's *The Roman Wall*, pp. 432-4.

confines of Exmoor, and in other parts of West Somersetshire. Roman pottery has turned up with frequency near Devizes, among the scorïæ of ancient iron works. In various places in Sussex, as in the parishes of Maresfield, Sedlescombe, and Westfield, immense masses of scorïæ or iron cinders have been found, in some places twenty feet thick. There can be no doubt whatever as to the date of these heaps, for they were besprinkled with fragments of Roman pottery and occasional coins. The Romans in this district dug small pits from which they extracted the iron nodules, which were then carried to the adjacent furnaces. These smelting furnaces seem always to have been placed on the slope of a hill, near the bottom, to facilitate the running out of the molten metal. The iron ore was broken up and placed in alternate layers with charcoal, some limestone being added as a flux. The mass was then surrounded and covered with a wall of clay, having holes at the bottom for letting in the draught and letting out the metal.

It is, however, throughout the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, and its confines, that the Roman cinders abounded, and in such extraordinary profusion. As early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and throughout the eighteenth, it was the custom to commit these scorïæ to the furnace for the second time, so careless had been the Roman methods. Even at the close of the seventeenth century, when very little attention was paid to the Roman occupation of Britain, the Gloucestershire cinder district attracted considerable attention. Mr. Yarranton, in a book entitled *Improvement by Sea and Land*, which was published in 1698, says:—"It is evident that iron was in England a thousand years ago, by those great heap of cinders formerly made of ironstone, they being the offal or waste thrown out of the footblasts by the Romans; they then having no works to go by water to drive bellows, but all by the footblast, and at present great oaks are growing upon the tops of these cinder heaps, and monies continually is found amongst these cinders; but such as is found is all of the Roman coin; most of which monies is copper; very little found of late days that is silver; and this offal of the footblast by the Romans, then cast by, doth at present make the

best and most profitable iron in England, it being mixed with some ironstone of the Forest of Dean: and there hath been and still is vast quantities of this sort of iron cinders in the counties of Monmouth, Hereford, and Gloucester; and Mr. Yarranton found a vast quantity of Roman cinders near the walls of the city of Worcester, from whence he and others carried away many thousand tons of loads up the river Severn unto their iron furnaces, to be melted down into iron, with a mixture of the Forest of Dean ironstone; and within a hundred yards of the walls of the city of Worcester there was dug up one of the hearths of the Roman footblasts; it being then firm and in order, and was 7 ft. deep in the earth; and by the side of the work there was found out a pot of Roman wine, to the quantity of a peck, some of which was presented to Sir Dugdale, and part thereof is now in the king's closet; by all which circumstances it clearly appears that the Romans made iron in England, and so far up the river Severn as the city of Worcester, where as yet there are vast quantities remaining."

A quaint legend is given in the life of St. Egwin, which strikingly illustrates the extent of the iron trade in that district, as it represents the town of Alcester (the Roman Alauria), which is situated on the Worcestershire borders of the county of Warwick, as inhabited exclusively by smiths and filled with smithies. When the saint went to convert these pagans to Christianity, no sooner did he begin to preach than they all began to beat with their hammers on the anvils, producing such a frightful din that he might as well have preached to the tempest. St. Egwin, indignant at the reception thus given to divine truths, raised his hands to heaven and invoked a curse on the townfolk and their occupation. Instantly the town was swallowed up by an earthquake, and henceforth no one was able successfully or profitably to carry on the trade of a smith in that locality.¹ It is interesting, in connection with the extent of the Roman ironworks in Britain, to note the remarkable proofs of the extraordinary and varied skill of the Romans when amongst us in the construction of peaceful implements and tools of iron that have come to light during recent years, and which seem

¹ Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.

to belong to the latter period of their occupation. A hoard of no less than 96 iron articles was discovered at Great Chesterford, Essex, in 1854, and was fully described in the *Journal of the Institute*.¹ In 1890 a most remarkable hoard of iron implements was found at Silchester, which included anvils of three kinds, axes and adzes, hammers, tongs, chisels, gouges, plough-coulters, a file, a plane, a horseshoe, a lamp, and a large gridiron. These are fully described and illustrated by Sir John Evans. K.C.B., in the current number of the *Archæologia* issued to the Fellows within the last few days.²

Though not technically a mineral, a few words must be said in conclusion with regard to that carboniferous fossil coal. Dr. Bruce tells us that in nearly all the stations on the line of the great Roman wall coal has been found. In several places the source whence the fuel was obtained can be pointed out, and there were extensive early workings in the neighbourhood of Grindon Lake, near Sewing Shields. Nor can there be any doubt that they discovered the Shropshire coalfield, for coal has been found in abundance both unburnt and in cinders on the site of Uriconium.³ I have myself found coal cinders in lead scorïæ in Derbyshire, near Wirksworth, that appeared to date back to Roman days. There does not appear, however, to have been more than an occasional and comparatively limited use of this fuel by the Romans, and but rarely for smelting purposes. There was no deep coal mining; only that which cropped out at the surface was used or followed up for a comparatively short distance. The great abundance of wood forbade any special expenditure of energy in that direction. So little was coal known to or used by the Romans that they had not even any proper designation of their own for a substance found in so many parts of their extensive Empire.

To many of us—particularly to one like myself, who was for many years a colliery proprietor before taking Holy Orders, and who remains intensely interested in the condition of the mining population and their honourable

¹ *Arch. Journal*, vol. xiii., p. 1.

² *Archæologia*, vol. liv., pp. 139–156.

³ Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 290. This use of coal in the hypocausts of Wroxeter accounts, in Mr.

Fox's opinion, for their greater elevation and somewhat different construction as compared with the hypocausts of Silchester and other Romano-British stations.

attempts to keep abreast of the times in which they live—one of the most interesting inquiries in connection with the mining of the past is the lot of those who laboured in the early mines of Britain. As to this, it does not appear possible to speak with any absolute certainty. Dr. Phillips draws a somewhat captivating but, we fear, imaginary picture of “the politic lords of the world who broke up no national industry, and set no legionaries to supplant the native miners; but stationing a few cohorts on the ancient roads, in or close to the mining districts, to control a rude population, received regularly the fruits of the industry which they might direct, but did not personally share. Viewed in this light, how complete appears the grasp of the Roman treasury on the mining fields of Britain!”

But the true picture, we fear, is a much blacker one than this. In Tacitus' *Life of Agricola* a speech is attributed to the British leader, Galgacus, wherein servitude in the mines is specially mentioned as the consequence of defeat. This slavery, as we learn from Diodorus, was exceedingly severe. The consideration then of the mining operations of the Romans corrects more than one popular but mistaken view as to their occupation of Britain. Instead of remote and mountainous parts of the land, such as the Peak of Derbyshire or the Shropshire borders of Wales, being the districts wherein the Britons continued to maintain their independence, it is just in these very territories in consequence of their mineral wealth, that the heel of the conqueror pressed the heaviest. It was in these parts that the troops were specially massed and the stations and camps were frequent, not to restrain an independent race of natives, but to overawe and keep in check a large population of slaves and condemned criminals, whose forced labour was used for the production of mineral wealth.¹ Beneath all the civilization and engineering skill of mighty Rome, there was usually a fierce and sustained cruelty towards the people whom she subdued. This tyranny was probably nowhere so apparent as in the mining districts of Britain.

¹A most interesting account of the sad treatment of Christian slaves and prisoners in the Roman mines of Palestine and Egypt is given by Very Rev.

Father Hirst in his paper on “Mining Operations by the Ancient Romans” read at the Newcastle meeting (*Arch. Journal*, vol. xlii., pp. 20-40).

A List of the Annual Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

* Denotes that a special volume was also issued.

Date.	Place.	President of Meeting.	Reference to Journal.	President of Institute.
1844 Sept. 9	Canterbury ..	Lord Conyngham ..	I, 267..	Lord Conyngham.
1845 Sept. 9				
1846 July 21	Winchester ..	Marquis of Northampton ..	II, 299*	Marquis of Northampton.
1847 July 29				
1848 July 25	York ..	Earl Fitzwilliam ..	III, 270*	" " "
1849 July 24				
1850 June 18	Norwich ..	Bishop of Norwich ..	IV, 265*	" " "
1851 July 29				
1852 Aug. 24	Lincoln ..	Earl Brownlow ..	{ Special vol. only. }	Earl Brownlow.
1853 July 21				
1854 July 4	Salisbury ..	Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert ..	VI, 297*	Marquis of Northampton.
1855 Aug. 6				
1856 July 23	Oxford ..	Marquis of Northampton ..	VII, 307*	" " "
1857 July 21				
1858 July 20	Bristol ..	J. S. Harford ..	VIII, 322*	Lord Talbot de Malahide.
1859 July 26				
1860 July 17	Newcastle ..	Lord Talbot de Malahide ..	IX, 361*	" " "
1861 July 22				
1862 July 22	Chichester ..	" " "	X, 342*	" " "
1863 July 28				
1864 July 26	Cambridge ..	" " "	XI, 389	" " "
1865 Aug. 1				
1866 Aug. 17	Shrewsbury ..	" " "	XII, 380	" " "
1867 July 22				
1868 July 22	Edinburgh ..	" " "	XIII, 375	" " "
1869 July 22				
1870 July 22	Chester ..	" " "	XIV, 364	" " "
1871 July 22				
1872 July 22	Bath ..	" " "	XV, 363	" " "
1873 July 22				
1874 July 22	Carlisle ..	" " "	XVI, 364	" " "
1875 July 22				
1876 July 22	Gloucester ..	" " "	XVII, 320	" " "
1877 July 22				
1878 July 22	Peterborough ..	" " "	XVIII, 378	" " "
1879 July 22				
1880 July 22	Worcester ..	Lord Lyttleton ..	XIX, 370	" " "
1881 July 22				
1882 July 22	Rochester ..	Marquis Camden ..	XX, 379	" " "
1883 July 22				
1884 July 22	Warwick ..	Lord Leigh ..	XXI, 366	Marquis Camden.
1885 Aug. 1				
1886 Aug. 17	Dorchester ..	Marquis Camden ..	XXII, 340	" "
1887 Aug. 17				
1888 Aug. 17	London ..	" " "	XXIII, 305	" "
1889 Aug. 17				



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THE DUMB BELL, KNOLE.

ON A DUMB BELL AT KNOLE.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle.

Mr. C. Essenhigh Corke, of Sevenoaks, to whom I have been so much indebted for information about the "Picture Board Dummies" at Knole, has kindly sent me a photograph of a contrivance or machine at Knole, called the "Dumb Bell," which stands in an attic called the "Dumb Bell Gallery" or "Attic."

Some years ago Mr. Corke's curiosity was excited by the name "Dumb Bell Gallery," and he inquired of the housekeeper what it meant. She could give him no information but referred him to the attics, or, as they are called at Knole, the "Wardrobes," a term which applies to all the rooms on the top floor at Knole.¹ In the long attic gallery over the east front rooms at Knole, *i.e.*, over the "Spangled Bedroom" and the "Leicester Gallery," Mr. Corke found the "Dumb Bell," whose photograph is reproduced with this account. It resembles the windlass used for hauling up the bucket out of a drawwell, but has no handle: each end of the roller round which the rope winds and unwinds has four iron arms, each with a leaden poise or ball at the end, like the end of an ordinary hand dumb bell. The rope leads through a hole in the floor into the Leicester Gallery (now the billiard room) below; the hole still remains in the ceiling. A person pulling the rope in the Leicester Gallery would get the same exercise as he would by pulling a bell rope in a church tower, and his efforts would cause no noise, to annoy his neighbours. Sir H. Dryden, to whom I have

¹ These attics appear too large to have been used as "wardrobes," and it is suggested that the term may be a corruption of "ward-rooms," where were lodged the lads of good family, who

would be sent to Knole to finish their education and learn manners. Sir Thomas More was sent as a "ward" for that purpose to the house of Cardinal Moreton, *i.e.*, Knole.

shown the photograph, writes that he has never heard of such a contrivance, and attributes it to the 17th century,

When bell ringing was part of a gentleman's education and practice. It was probably to train and keep in practice the arms for the bell ringing, not merely for exercise.

Mr. Corke thinks that as the room the "Dumb Bell" stands in was restored by Thomas (1st Earl) about 1603 to 1608, it cannot be older than that date. The "Dumb Bell" is now quite rotten, but Lord Sackville recollects that when a boy he used to fasten a stick to the end of the rope and swing up and down upon it.

One would much like to know if any other instance of such a contrivance exists or is known to have existed: the machine is cumbrous, and even dangerous, and takes up much room: it would probably in most cases be taken down, and destroyed, if not used. But I think we have here the hitherto missing link in the derivation of the name "dumb bell," as applied now-a-days to short bars of iron weighted at each end with lead. They were probably developed from the windlass dumb bell, by some athlete, who cared nothing about practising bell ringing, but who wished to develop his arms.

MONUMENTAL BRASSES IN SHROPSHIRE.

By MILL STEPHENSON, B.A., F.S.A.

[Read at Shrewsbury, July 25th, 1894.]

Shropshire, although large in area, does not contain many examples of this class of monument. Twenty brasses with effigies and one inscription with devices have been noticed, but others may still be found, especially in the remoter districts.

The brasses of the county as at present known, may be roughly divided as follows :—

Armed figures alone	...	...	...	...	1
" " with ladies	...	...	...	...	4
Civilians alone	...	...	...	...	3
" with ladies	...	...	...	...	5
Ecclesiastics	...	...	...	...	4
Ladies alone	...	...	...	...	2
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	2
					21

Inscriptions only are not included, some few are given, but the list is not complete.

The effigies at Harley, Tong (Ralph Elcok, 1510), and Withington exhibit marked peculiarities and are probably the work of some local artists, possibly of a school of metal-workers established at Coventry in the adjoining county of Warwick during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Much of their work may be found in the counties of Northampton, Stafford, and Warwick. The fine brass at Acton Burnell may possibly belong to this class, but in this case a northern origin must be looked for, and in all probability it may be attributed to the earlier provincial school established either in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, more probably the latter, at the close of the fourteenth century. Nothing is known of the history of these local engravers except in the case of Norwich where some trace of a family named Brazier, bellfounders and braziers, has

come down to us. At Upton Cressett on a late brass, 1640, there occurs a maker's name, "R. Grigs, sculpsit," but this is the only instance which has been noticed in the county.

The finest military figures are those at Acton Burnell to Sir Nicholas Burnell, 1382, and at Tong to Sir William Vernon, constable of England, 1467. The later examples at Harley, c. 1475, and Withington, 1512, belong to the local school. At Adderley is a very late example of date 1560.

The earliest figure of a civilian is that of William Maynwaryng, 1497, at Ightfield, all the other seven examples belong to the last half of the sixteenth century, and present no points of interest.

Of ecclesiastics there are four examples, but one, unidentified, either an abbot or a bishop, c. 1390, at Adderley, is of great interest. The mitred head and the inscription are unfortunately lost, the vestments are the amice, albe, dalmatic, maniple, and chasuble, but neither the tunic, stole, sandals, nor gloves appear. In the right hand is a crozier, and in the left a book. All attempts at identification have so far failed. At Tong is a small figure to Ralph Elcok, 1510, a brother of the college, in cassock, surplice, and almuce. This brass is of local origin, and the inscription is somewhat blundered. In the same church is a fine figure to Sir Arthur Vernon, warden of the college and rector of Whitchurch, 1517, representing him in the dress of a master of arts of the University of Cambridge. Above the figure is a pretty little chalice with a rayed wafer inscribed with the letters "Ihc." The last of the series is a figure in cassock, surplice, almuce, and cope, to Adam Grafton, "the most worshipful priest living in his days," but somewhat of a pluralist according to the inscription. Amongst his many preferments he was parson of Withington and was there buried in 1530.

Of ladies alone there are two fine examples, one at Burford, unfortunately mutilated, to Dame Elizabeth Cornewaylle, c. 1370, and one at Ightfield to Dame Margery Calveley, widow of Philip Egerton, she died in 1509, but the brass was engraved in her lifetime, c. 1495, after her marriage with her third husband, Sir Hugh Calveley. This brass has a fine triple canopy with a

curious figure of St. John the Baptist on the centre finial.

Of ladies accompanying their husbands the fine figure of Lady Vernon at Tong is a good example of a widow's costume. At Harley is an example of the butterfly head-dress, but the rest of the series calls for no special comment. At Edgmond is a curious brass to Francis Yonge, 1533, representing him in a shroud, whilst his wife Anne, who predeceased him, is in ordinary attire.

At Clun is an inscription, on a quadrangular plate, to Sir Robert Howard, K.B., 1653, with a running pattern of flowers and leaves with various devices in the angles.

Of canopies there are but two examples, at Acton Burnell, 1382, and at Ightfield, c. 1495; the former is a single canopy of the cinquefoiled ogee shape, and is an early example of the use of groining, the head of the figure being carried into the midst of the groining. The latter is triple, but of debased character with much ornament and heavy crockets.

Heraldry is well represented on the Vernon brasses at Tong; early examples of shields also occur at Burford, and at Edgmond there was until recently a shield bearing the emblems of the Passion. The arms of the town of Coventry appear on the Onley brass at Withington.

An account of the brasses in the destroyed church of St. Alkmund, Shrewsbury, is attempted, principally drawn from *Owen and Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury*, and from a manuscript in the British Museum, viz., Add. MSS. 21, 236-37. *Drawings of Monuments and Inscriptions from churches and chapels in Shropshire, executed by the Rev. Edward Williams, 1792-1803, with indexes, 2 vols., paper, folio.*

The writer is indebted to the Rev. T. Auden, F.S.A., chairman of the council of the Shropshire Archæological Society, to Mrs. and Miss Auden, the Rev. J. E. Field, the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, and to other friends for the loan of rubbings and for much kind assistance in the preparation of this paper.

ACTON BURNELL.

I.

SIR NICHOLAS BURNELL, 1382.

Full length effigy in complete armour of the "camail" period; the bascinet is acutely pointed and to it is attached by laces the camail, the hawberk also of mail is covered by the jupon, whilst the shoulders are defended by epaulières composed of overlapping plates, the arms by brasarts and vambraces, the elbows by coutes, and the hands by gauntlets. The thighs, knees, and legs are protected by plate alone, the sollerets are extremely pointed and have rowel spurs buckled over the instep. At the feet is a very fine lion, the sword is suspended diagonally behind the body from a richly ornamented bawdric and to it on the right hand side, in front of the body, is fastened the misericorde or dagger.

A good single canopy of the cinquefoiled ogee shape surrounds the figure, it has, for this early date, the unusual feature of groining and the head of the figure is carried into the centre of this groining. The bases of the pinnacles are ornamented with wolves' heads and the base of the canopy itself, with large quatrefoils filled with foliage.

The inscription, in three lines black letter, is at the head of the canopy and not as usual under the effigy. It reads:—

Hic iacet dñs Nichus Burnell miles dñs
De holgot' qui obiit xix^a die Januarii Anno
Dñi Mmo CCCmo Lxxxii^a Cui aīe ppiciet' dñs am.

Two shields of arms and parts of the finials of the canopy are lost.

The brass lies on a high tomb in the north transept. The figure is 46 inches in height and the size of the whole composition is 6 feet 6 inches by 2 feet. It has been engraved in *The Archæological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 329; *Boutell's Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, p. 54; *The Oxford Manual of Brasses*, p. 70; and *Haines' Manual*, Introd., p. 138.

Hic iacet dñs Nicholus Burnell miles dñs
 de bolgote qui obiit xij die Januarii Anno
 dñi m ccc lxxv. Qui an pñet dñs an



SIR NICHOLAS BURNELL, KNT.

Maud Burnell, the heiress of the Burnell estates, married for her second husband John de Handlo, who died in 1346, leaving one son, Sir Nicholas, who assumed his mother's name and eventually succeeded to the estates. For an account of Sir Nicholas' controversy with Robert de Morley concerning his right to bear the Burnell arms, see *the Archæological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 330.

II.

ELISA WHITNEY, c. 1650.

Inscription only. Size of plate 21 by 7 inches.

RESVRGAM.

*Filia Doctoris Bright, whitney chara marita
Dormit Elisa solo corpore, mente polo
Lucida nubae viae, patriae splendore refulget.
Candoris plenam vestit et alba stola.*

Now mural. Chancel.

III.

MARGARET SMYTH, 1655.

Inscription only. Size of plate $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF MARGARET
SMYTH THE WIFE OF THOMAS SMYTH
OF RVCKLEY GEN: BEING THE ELDEST
DAUGHTER OF THOMAS UNTON OF
DREYTON ESQ: SHE DEPARTED
THIS LIFE THE 5TH OF FEBRUARY
1655 BEINGE 54 YEARES OF AGE.

SHE HAD ONE SON 13 YEARS OF AGE THE 22TH OF FEBRUARY, 1655.

Now mural. Chancel.

IV.

MARTHA TROVELL, 1660.

Inscription only. Size of plate 15 by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

I : AM : SVRE : THAT : MY : REDEEMER : LIVETH : AND :
 HE : SHAL : STAND : THE : LAST : ON : THE : EARTH : AND : THOVGH :
 AFTER : MY : SKINNE : WORMES : DISTROY : THIS : BODY :
 YET : SHAL : I : SEE : GOD : IN : MY : FLESH : WHOM : I : MY-
 SELFE : SHALL : SEE : AND : MY : EYES : SHALL : BE : HOLD : AND :
 NO : OTHER : FOR : ME : THOVGH : MY : REINS : ARE :
 CONSVMED : WITH : IN : ME : MARTHA : TROVELL :

VIRGO : FOURE : SCORE : AND : NEINE : OF : AGE : IN : MARCH : LAST : 1660.

Now mural. Chancel.

 ACTON SCOTT.

THOMAS MYTTON, AND WIFE ELSABETH, 1571.

Effigies kneeling at prayer desks on which lie open books and on the side panel of each desk is a lozenge enclosing a skull. Thomas Mytton, "a gentle by race" is in civil costume and behind him are the kneeling figures of his nine sons. His wife Elsabeth, a daughter of Sir Edward Gryvell, "a Warwykeshere knight," wears the "Paris Hede", a small ruff and an overgown with turned back collar and short sleeves puffed at the shoulders, the gown is confined round the waist by a girdle. Behind her are the kneeling figures of her two daughters in similar dresses.



AN ECCLESIASTIC.

Q. 1890.

Below the figures is a black letter inscription in eleven lines:—

Here lyeth entombed in claye the carcase
of Elisabeth Mytton who late was the wyffe
of Thomas Mytton a Gentle by race
wth issue aleben god blessed their lyffe
They Joyed together and liffe ledd aright
descended of Gentrye, and dought^e she was
of S^r Edward Grybell a Warwykeshere knight
She yelded her breath and ended her race
the aleventh of march and y^e yere of grace
a thousand fyve hundred seventye and one
to whome god grant a Joyfull resurrection.

The male effigy measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and the female $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The size of the whole composition is about 20 by 21 inches. It is now mounted on an oak panel and hangs in the chancel.

ADDERLEY.

I.

AN ECCLESIASTIC (ABBOT OR BISHOP), c. 1390.

Full length effigy (head with mitre lost), in amice, albe, dalmatic, maniple and chasuble, holding in the right hand a crozier (head lost) encircled with the vexillum, and in the left a clasped book. Neither the tunic, stole, sandals, nor gloves are represented.

The inscription, the head of the figure and the head of the crozier are lost.

This figure presents an early instance of an ecclesiastic holding a book. Later examples may be found at Beeford, Yorks., 1472, and at Carlisle Cathedral, 1496. After the Reformation the practice becomes common.

In its present condition the figure measures 41 inches in height and lies on the chancel floor.

All attempts at identification have so far failed. The brass is not mentioned by the Rev. Edward Williams although he visited the church on September 1, 1794 (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 21, 236, fol. 176). Randle Holme also visited the church at a much earlier period but only notices some shields in glass (Harl. MS. 2, 129, fol. 154a).

II.

SIR ROBERT NEDEHAM, AND WIFE AGNES, 1560.

Full length effigies turned sideways. Sir Robert is represented bare-headed in armour, his hands are without gauntlets and frills appear at the neck and wrists. The figure is badly proportioned and very clumsy, the armour is of the usual type of this period and calls for no comment. His wife wears the "Paris hede" together with the usual over and under gown accompanying this style of head-dress.

Below the figures is a five line inscription in black letter :

**Here lieth buried under this stone the bodies of Syr Robert
Nedeham knight and dame Agnes his wyffe daughter of John
Maynwaring of peber esquire which sayd Robert decessed the
iiii daye of June Anno domini 1556 and the sayd Agnes
decessed the ii daye of maye Anno domini 1560.**

Below the inscription are the smaller effigies of seven sons in civil attire and two daughters in similar costume to their mother.

The male effigy measures 19 inches in height and the female 18 inches. The size of the whole composition is 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet, and lies in the chancel.

Sir Robert Nedeham married Agnes, a daughter of John Maynwaring, Esq., of Pever or Peover, Cheshire.

III.

JOHN PODMORE, RECTOR, 1673.

Inscription only. Size of plate 9 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

SUB SPE RESURRECTI-
ONIS HIC SITUS EST IO-
HANNES PODMORE QU-
ONDAM HUIUS RECTOR
ECCLESIE OBIIT ANNO .ÆT-
ATIS SVÆ LXXIII ANNO
QUE DOMINI 1673.

Nave.

ALVELEY.

JOHN GROVE, 1616.

Full length effigy turned sideways and wearing ruff,
doublet and gown with long false sleeves.

Inscription in Roman capitals:—

HERE LYETH BVRIED THE BODY OF JOHN GROVE
GENTLEMAN AND A FREEMAN OF THE RIGHT WORS^{FL}
COMPANY OF GROCERS OF LONDON WHO WAS BORNE
IN THIS PARISH OF ALVELEY AND HATH GIVEN FOR
EVER TO A SCHOOL MASTER TO TEACH SCHOL-
LERS WITHIN THE SAID PARISH OF ALVELEY AND
OTHER TEN POVNDES TO FIVE POORE AGED MEN &
IMPOTENT WHO HAVE BIN LABORING MEN OF HONEST
CONVERSATION AND HAVE BIN DECAIED THROUGH
AGE OR INFIRMITY HE DYED THE XII DAY OF DECEM-
BER ANNO DNI 1616 BEING OF THE AGE OF FIFTY
SIX YEARES.

Above the figure are two shields of arms:—

(Dexter)—(*Erm.*) *on a chevron engrailed (gu.) three escallops (arg.).* GROVE.

(Sinister)—*Arg., a chevron gu. between seven cloves 4 and 3 sa.* COMPANY OF GROCERS.

This brass was formerly in the chancel but is now on the south side of the nave.

John Grove, gentleman and freeman of the Grocers' Company of London, founded the school at Alveley and was likewise a benefactor to the parish as stated in the inscription.

BURFORD.

DAME ELIZABETH DE CORNEWAYLLE, c. 1370.

Large full length effigy, head resting on embroidered cushion, lower part of figure restored in recent times.

Dame Elizabeth, wife of Mons. Esmon de Cornewaylle, wears a close cap with its front edges plaited, carried straight across the forehead and down the sides of the face. Over this is a veil or kerchief falling on the back and shoulders. The tight fitting sleeves of the kirtle are seen at the wrists; the close fitting overgown has also tight sleeves and curious slits or pocket holes in front through which may be seen the plain girdle of the kirtle. Over all is worn a long mantle fastened across the breasts by a short cord.

Of the marginal inscription only a few words remain, it is in French in thick black letter:—

✠ Ecy gist dame Elizabeth feme a mons' Esmon de Cornewaylle q
morust

Two shields of arms above the head are lost, two others, one on each side of the neck bear:—

(Dexter)—*Arg., a lion rampant gu., armed and langued az., ducally crowned or, within a bordure engrailed sa. bezantée.* CORNEWAYLLE impaling two lions passant in pale. . . .

(Sinister). . . . two lions passant in pale. . . .
perhaps ERDINGTON—or, two lions passant in pale az.



DAME ELIZABETH DE CORNEWAYLLE. C. 1370.
BURFORD, SALOP.
About $\frac{1}{10}$ linear.

The effigy now measures 66 inches in height, the restored part being 9 inches. It lies on the chancel floor.

An engraving of this brass may be found in *Haines' Manual of Brasses*, Introd., p. 167.

CLUN.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD, K.B., 1653.

A quadrangular plate measuring 22 by 15½ inches. In an oval in the centre is the inscription with four shields of arms, one at the top, one at the bottom, and one on each side. In the four corners are a skull, a skeleton holding a dart, an hour glass and a pair of crossed thigh bones. The remainder of the plate is entirely covered with a running pattern of flowers and leaves enclosed within a border of leaves.

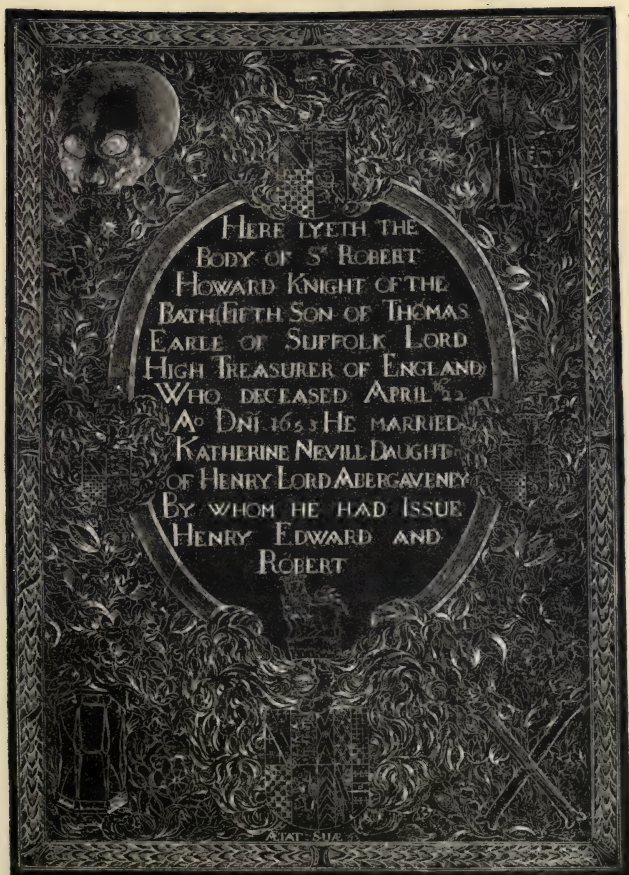
The inscription reads :—

HERE LYETH THE
BODY OF S^R. ROBERT
HOWARD KNIGHT OF THE
BATH (FIFTH SON OF THOMAS
EARLE OF SUFFOLK LORD
HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND)
WHO DECEASED APRIL TH22
A^O DNI. 1653 HE MARRIED
KATHERINE NEVILL DAUGHTER
OF HENRY LORD ABERGAVENEY
BY WHOM HE HAD ISSUE
HENRY EDWARD AND
ROBERT

At the bottom of the plate under the lowermost shield is :—

ÆTAT—SUE 63.

The upper and two side shields bear the Howard arms with crest and mantling, viz.—Quarterly. I. *Gu.*, on



SIR ROBERT HOWARD, K.B.

1653.

CLUN, SALOP.

a bend between six crosses crosslet fitchy arg., an escutcheon or, charged with a demi-lion rampant pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a double tressure flory counter-flory of the first. HOWARD. II. Gu., three lions passant guardant in pale or, in chief a label of three points arg. BROTHERTON. III. Chequy or and az. WARRENNE. IV. Gu., a lion rampant arg., armed and languid az. MOWBRAY. Over all a crescent. . . for difference.

Crest :—On a chapeau gu. turned up erm., a lion statant guardant crowned and ducally gorged or.

The lower shield bears Howard as above impaling Nevill, Lord Abergavenny—Quarterly of six. I. Gu., on a saltire arg. a rose of the first, seeded or, barbed vert. NEVILL, LORD ABERGAVENNY. II. Or, fretty gu., on a canton per pale erm. and of the first a ship with sails furled sa. NEVILL of Bulmer. III. Chequy or and az. WARRENNE. IV. Or, three chevrons gu. CLARE. V. Quarterly arg. and gu., in the second and third quarters a fret or, over all a bend sa. LE DESPENCER. VI. Gu., a fess between six crosses crosslet or, the fess charged with a crescent. . . for difference. BEAUCHAMP.

Crest as above.

This plate was formerly attached to a handsome marble monument on the south wall of the chancel but is now fastened to the east wall of the north aisle of the church. A lithograph facsimile has recently been published.

Sir Robert Howard, K.B., was the fifth son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Lord High Treasurer of England. He married Katherine, daughter of Henry Nevill, Lord Abergavenny, by whom he had three sons, Henry, Edward, and Robert. Sir Robert died on the 22nd of April, 1653.

The Rector of Clun—The Rev. Prebendary Warner—has very kindly searched the registers for entries relating to the Howard family, but as the earlier register is missing the search proved fruitless.

DIDDLEBURY.

I.

RICHARD BAWDEWIN 1623, AND WIFE MARGERY, 1614.

Inscription and shields of arms.

QVI MARE QVI FERRVM DVRE QVI VINCVLA TVRRIS
 QVONDAM TRANSIVIT NUNC INGENS ATROPOS OCCA
 NOMEN SI QVÆRAS SOBOLES QVOT QVÆ FVIT VXOR
 OCCVBVIT QVANDO QVÆ SVBSVNT RÆC TIBI MÖSTRÄ
 THOMAS PRIMOGENITVS RICHARDI BAWDEWIN DE
 DIDLEBVRIE ET MARGIRLE VXORIS EIUS FILLE LAW-
 RENCHI LVDLOWE DE MOREHOWSE DVXIT IN VXORE
 GERTRVDAM FILIAM ROBERTI CORBET DE STAND-
 WARDINE DE QVA GENVIT TRES FILIOS EDWARDVM
 IOHANNEM ET RICHARDVM ET DVAS FILIAS DORO-
 THEAM ET SUZANNA ET VALEDICIT MVNDO } ET OBIT
 ANNO DNI 1614 ÆTATIS SVÆ LXVIII } 4 APRILIS
 1623.

Arms :

(1). Quarterly I. *Arg.*, a saltire *sa.* BALDWIN. II. *Barry of six az. and arg. a chief erm.* WIGLEY. III. *Gu.*, a chevron *erm.* between three eaglets close *arg.* CHILDE. IV. *Per pale gu. and or*, a fleur-de-lys counterchanged. ACHELEY.

Crest :—*On a mound vert a cockatrice with wings addorsed arg., beaked, combed, ducally gorged and lined or.* BALDWIN.

(2). BALDWIN impaling *or*, a lion rampant *sa.* LUDLOW

Mural. North wall of chancel.

II.

CHARLES BALDWIN, ESQ., 1674.

Small quadrangular plate with inscription and shield of arms.

M. S.

*Carolus Baldwin de Elsieh
Armiger Hic situs est
Obiit 14 Die Februarii
Anno Dni 1674.*

Arms :

Quarterly I. BALDWIN. II. WIGLEY. III. CHILDE IV. ACHELEY, with a crescent for difference in the centre.

Crest—BALDWIN, with helmet and mantling.

Mural. North wall of chancel. Engraved in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 2 S. Vol. iii, p. 136.

DRAYTON.

ROWLAND CORBET, c. 1580.

Quadrangular plate, 24 inches by 18 inches, with small kneeling effigy of Rowland Corbet in civil dress with a scroll from his mouth inscribed :—

Miserere mei deus.

He wears a long gown, open down the front and fastened round the waist by a cord, the sleeves are close fitting and from the shoulders hang long false sleeves.

Below is a black letter inscription in eight elegiac verses :—

*Rowlandus patris Corbeti iudicis heres
Dreitonæ studiis tempora læta terens
Incidit in morbum subito vitæq; migravit
Destituens chari dulcia vota patris
Dotibus hunc variis natura benigna creavit
Mors nulli parcens invidiosa tulit
Nunc fruiter Christo celesti sede receptus
Precessit breuiter nosq; sequemur eum.*

On the upper part of the plate are two shields of arms:—

(Dexter)—Quarterly of seven—I. *Or, a raven ppr.* CORBET. II. *Az., six lioncels rampant 3, 2 and 1 within a bordure engrailed or.* LEYBOURNE. III. *Gu., semée of crosses crosslet a lion rampant or.* HOPTON. IV. *Gu., semée of crosses crosslet three lucies hauriant 2 and 1 or.* LUCY. V. *Arg., three chevronells sa.* ARCHDEACON. VI. *Gu., two bars vair.* SAYE. VII. *Barry of six sa. and or, on a chief of the second two pallets of the first, an escutcheon of pretence erm. charged with three bars gu.* BURLEY. *Over all a mullet . . . for difference.*

(Sinister)—*Az., two bars arg., on a canton sa., a chevron between three pheons of the second, charged with a wolf's head erased between two mullets gu.* HILL. These arms were allowed to Alice Corbet by William Hervey, Clarendieux, in 1562 (See *Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi, p. 449).

Below the inscription are the two shields impaled.

The whole is enclosed within an ornamental border and is fixed on the east wall of the chancel.

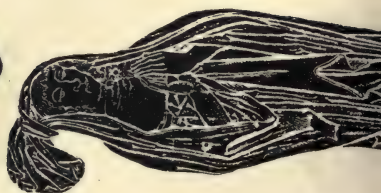
Rowland Corbet was son and heir of Reginald Corbet, a judge of the Common Pleas, 1559–66, by his wife Alice, a daughter of John Gratewood, by Jane, sister of Sir Rowland Hill, Knt., Lord Mayor of London.

EDGMOND.

FRANCIS YONGE, ESQ., 1533, AND WIFE ANNE.

A curious brass originally consisting of two figures, an inscription, two groups of children, a shield with the emblems of the Passion and two scrolls, two shields of arms, and the symbols of the Evangelists. The inscription, the shield of the Passion, one scroll, and one daughter now lost.

The effigies are turned sideways. Francis Yonge in a shroud open at the top and bottom to show the bust and feet and gathered up under the right arm, his hair is long and curly.





0 2 1/2"

FRANCIS YONGE, ESQ. AND WIFE ANNE.
1633.
EDMOND, SALOP.

Anne his wife is represented in ordinary attire, she wears the kennel shaped head-dress, an undertown with tight slashed sleeves with frills at the wrists, an overgown cut low at the neck and having short wide sleeves. This gown is looped up in front, trimmed with fur and fastened round the waist by a girdle with an ornamented buckle from which hangs a chain terminating in a pomander box. A rosary is also suspended from the girdle.

Below the figures was the following inscription, now lost, but here given from Randle Holme's transcript in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 2,129, fol. 194 b (or 145):—

"Of y^e charity y^e shall pray for y^e soules of ffrañcis Ponge some-
tymes of Caynton Esq^r sone & heire of Sr Willm Ponge kt: &
dame margt^t his wife dau. of Rich: Cpton Esq^r wch ffrañcis
deped this world y^e last day of march y^e yea^re of our Lo: M^o
CCCC^o xxxiiij^o. & for y^e sol of Añe late wife to ffrañcis dau: of
Rich chorlton of Appley Esq^r & Elisabet his wife doughter to
Willm Maynwaring of Eghtfeld Esq^r wch Añe decessed xxiiij day of
August y^e yea^re of our Lord M.C^o vij on whos soules Ihu have
mercy Amen."

Below the inscription and under the man is a group of nine sons in civil dress. Note the curious position of their heads. Under the lady is a group of five daughters, the fifth unfortunately lost, the first, third, and fourth have long flowing hair with close fitting gowns with fur cuffs and edging. The second has a somewhat similar dress with the addition of an overgown with large turned back collar, her hair is confined in a sort of cap. These figures are rather worn.

Between the heads of the principal figures was a shield bearing the emblems of the Passion. This has disappeared within recent years. Above the shield were two scrolls, but one only remains on the dexter side. It bears the following inscription:—

Quinq; Vulnera dei sunt
medicina Añe mee

The sinister was lost before 1793, but is given by Randle Holme as bearing;—

"Ora pro me scie
Johannes Baptista "

Above the figures are two shields of arms, that over the man bears:—

Quarterly I. Or, three roses 2 and 1 gu. YONGE. II. *Arg., seven lozenges conjoined each charged with an ermine spot.* HELSTOW. III. *Arg., a pale nebuly sa.* CAYNTON. IV. *Or, a fess between three lions rampant gu.* BENARTON. *impaling Quarterly I and IV. Or, a fret az.* EYTON. II and III. *Gu., two bars erm.* PANTULF.

That over the lady bears:—*Quarterly I and IV. Or, a lion rampant gu., debriused by a bendlet, arg.* CHARLTON. II and III. *Gu., ten bezants, 4, 3, 2, and 1.* ZOUCHE. *impaling Quarterly I and IV. Arg., two bars gu.* MAYNWARYNG. II and III. *Chequy arg. and sa.* WARREN.

At four corners of the stone are the symbols of the Evangelists, St. Mark in the upper dexter, St. Matthew in the upper sinister, St. John in the lower dexter, and St. Luke in the lower sinister corner.

The effigies are 30 inches in height, and the size of the whole composition is 7 feet by 3 feet 6 inches. It is on the nave floor.

Randle Holme gives a sketch of the brass perfect, and notes "this gravestone in the middle ile over against the pulpit."

Francis Yonge, Esq., of Caynton, was the son and heir of Sir William Yonge, Knt., sheriff of Shropshire in 1492, by Dame Margaret his wife, a daughter of Nicholas Eyton, Esq., of Eyton. Francis Yonge married Anne, a daughter of Richard Charlton, Esq., of Appley, by his wife Elizabeth, a daughter of William Maynwaryng, Esq., of Ightfield. Francis died in 1533, and Anne in 1507. The *Visitation of Shropshire*, 1623, gives the names of their children, viz., Cecilia, Anne, Elizabeth, Margaret, William, Roger, Richard, John, Thomas, John, George, Anthony, Adam. The sixth son, John, succeeded his father, the rest seem to have died early or childless. All the daughters were married.

The heraldry on this monument is somewhat singular, for in each case there is the impaled shield of the father and mother of the persons commemorated, but there is no shield showing the alliance between husband and wife.

The brass is also curious from the fact that the survivor is represented in a shroud. The wife, who died in 1507,

is here shown in the ordinary costume worn at the date of her husband's death. There does not seem to be any record of a second wife who survived him, and the heraldry points conclusively to his wife Anne Charlton. Had there been a second and surviving wife, she would either have added her own figure with her shield of arms properly displayed, or have caused the first wife to be represented like her husband in a shroud. Figures of husband and wife in shrouds are not uncommon, but in the case of one surviving the other it is more usual to find the survivor represented in ordinary attire.

GLAZELEY.

THOMAS WYLDE, ESQ., 1599, AND WIFE ELIZABETH.

Full length effigies turned sideways. Thomas Wylde in doublet, ruff, trunk hose and cloak, with long sword suspended from a narrow belt. His wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Cooke, Esq., wears the "Paris hede," a large ruff, a long peaked stomacher, an embroidered petticoat, and an upper or overgown with a large farthingale extending the dress from the hips.

Below the figures is an inscription in five lines:

HERE LYETH BVRYED THE BODYE OF THOMAS WYLDE
ESQ. DECEASED, WHO MARRYED WTH ELIZABETH THE
DAUGHTER & HEIRE OF RICHARD COOKE ESQ. BY WHOM
HE HAD ISSVE 4 SONNES & 2 DAUGHTERS, AND ENDED
THIS MORTALL LIFE THE XX DAY OF IVNE A^O. DNI. 1599.

On plates below the inscription are the effigies of the four sons and two daughters. The two elder sons are in doublet, trunk hose and cloaks, the two younger in long tunics alone; the elder daughter, a larger figure than any of the children, wears a costume similar to that of her mother, with the addition of a high-crowned hat; the younger daughter, a very much smaller figure, is in a similar costume with the exception of the hat, but much plainer in detail.

Above the figures are three coats of arms. The centre one on a square plate with helmet, crest and mantling bears—Quarterly I and IV. *arg.*, a *chevron*, *sa.*, on a *chief gu.* three *martlets of the first*. WYLDE. II and III. . . a *cross* . . . charged with a *crescent for difference*. Crest. A *lion passant gu.* resting the *dexter paw* on an *escutcheon arg.* WYLDE.

The shield on the dexter side bears—Quarterly.

I. . . a *chevron between three beasts' heads erased* . . . COOKE. II. *Erm.*, on a *chevron* . . . three *escallops or*. III. . . a *fess between three birds' heads erased* . .

IV. (*sa.*), three *goats passant (arg.)*, within a *bordure (or) pellety*. STANFIELD.

The shield on the sinister side bears WYLDE impaling COOKE.

The effigies measure 28 inches in height and the brass is now placed on the chancel wall.

HARLEY.

A MAN IN ARMOUR (OF THE LACON FAMILY?) AND
WIFE, c. 1475.

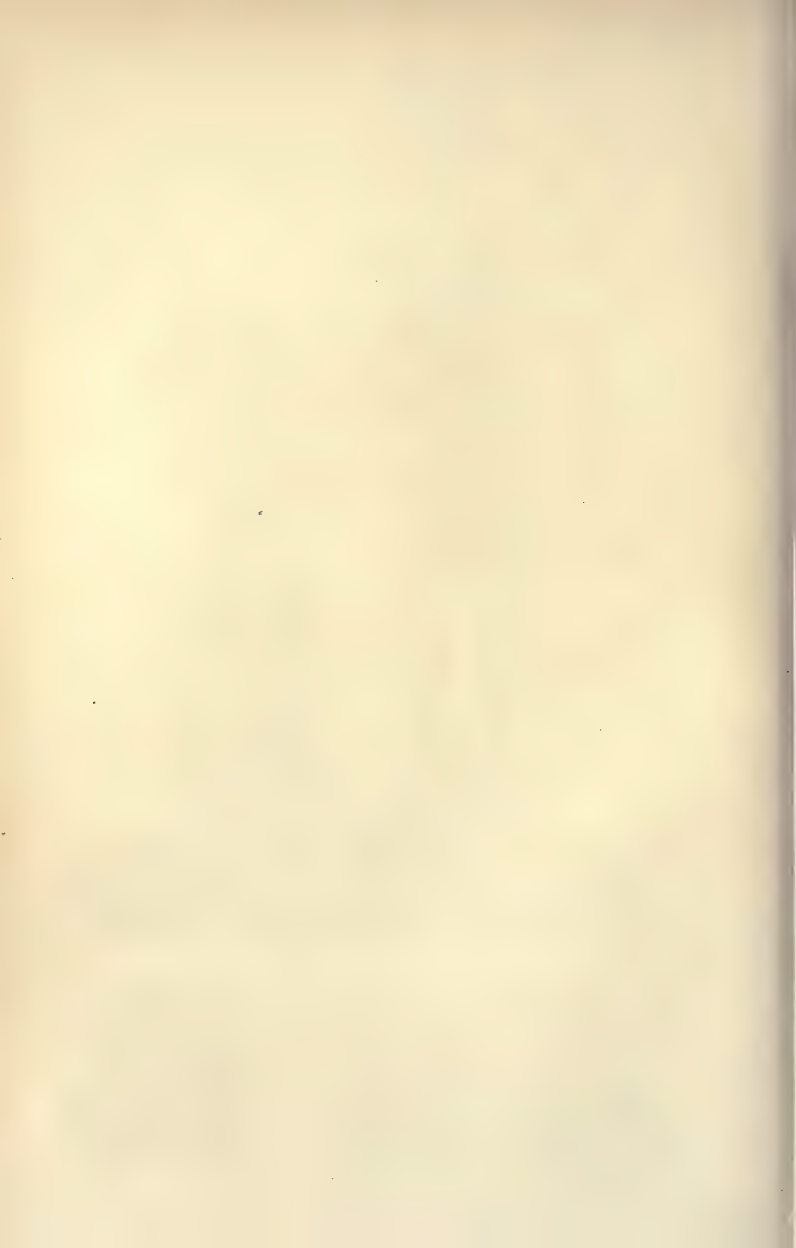
A curious brass evidently the work of some local school of engravers, most probably from Coventry. The male effigy is in complete plate armour, bare headed with head resting on tilting helmet. Round the neck is a chain composed of plain links. The shoulder pieces are of a curious shape and have upright ridges. The elbow pieces are small; the gauntlets have overlapping plates and large peaked cuffs. The skirt of taces is composed of two layers only but has fair sized tuilles strapped to the lowermost layer on the sides of the thigh. The knee pieces have plates above and below and larger plates spreading out behind. The sollerets are long and pointed with unguarded rowel spurs. At the feet is a greyhound. The sword is suspended from a narrow belt crossing the taces diagonally, and a small dagger is suspended on the right side.



unum ne lapsa caro solvantur ut fuit agro
 et arbor cu flato de crigat et heri clero
 et fuit p dextera ponat hunc repulsa
 Sia quicquid sit lacrima longi amissa

Quis quis irrisuitalis ita ptege plora
 Su quodo eue tura q quodo ce pme non oia
 eors nota martat anim fips q removat
 tura tra teget spiritus alta pteat





The lady wears the butterfly or wired head-dress which necessitated the figure being turned sideways in order to show it to advantage. Her overgown is cut low at the neck and has fur edging and cuffs, the long skirt is gathered up and hangs over the left arm.

Below the figures are eight Latin verses in black letter, four under each figure :

Putrida lapsa caro cōsumit^o bt fim^o agro
 Carne cū flato de^o erigat ethere claro
 Et sui p^o dextra ponat^o sorde repulsa
 Glia nexa sit lacrima semp auulsa.
 Quis quis eris qui trāsieris sta plege plora
 Sū quod eris fuerā qz quod es p me p^o cor ora
 Mors bita mactat aīam xps qz reuibat
 Terrā t^ora tegat spīritus alta petat.

Which may be expanded thus :

Putrida lapsa caro consumitur ut fimus agro
 Carnem cum flato deus erigat ethere claro
 Et sui præ dextra ponatur sorde repulsa
 Gloria connexa sit lacrima semper avulsa.

Quis quis eris qui transieris sta perlege plora
 Sum quod eris fueram que quod es pro me precor ora
 Mors vitam mactat animam Cristusque revivat
 Terram terra tegat spiritus alta petat.

Of this the Rev. J. E. Field has kindly made the following translation :

“ Rotting and wasting away is my flesh like dung in the furrow :
 That flesh upon heaven’s bright way may God’s Breath upraise on
 the morrow ;
 Set it at His right hand, and from all pollution deliver,
 Where is the glory attained, and the tear is banished for ever.”

“ Who so thou art that passeth this part, stay and read with
 contrition :
 I am what thou shalt be and I once was like thee : bid for me thy
 petition.
 Though my life by death’s hand be slain, yet my soul may Christ
 quicken again :
 Though my dust in the dust may lie, let my spirit be wafted on
 high.”

Below the inscription are the smaller effigies of eight sons (the heads of three lost) in civil dress, and of five daughters (the head of one lost).

One shield only remains, now above the man's head, it bears—*Quarterly per fess indented (erm.) and (az.), in the first quarter a bird . . . LACON. impaling . . . three bends . . . , again impaling . . . on a chief . . . a bird . . .*

Three other shields and, according to the *Shropshire Transactions*, a double canopy above the figures are lost.

The male effigy measures $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and the female 25 inches.

The brass was formerly in the north aisle but at the restoration was moved into the Tower. It is engraved in the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, vol. vi, p. 329.

IGHTFIELD.

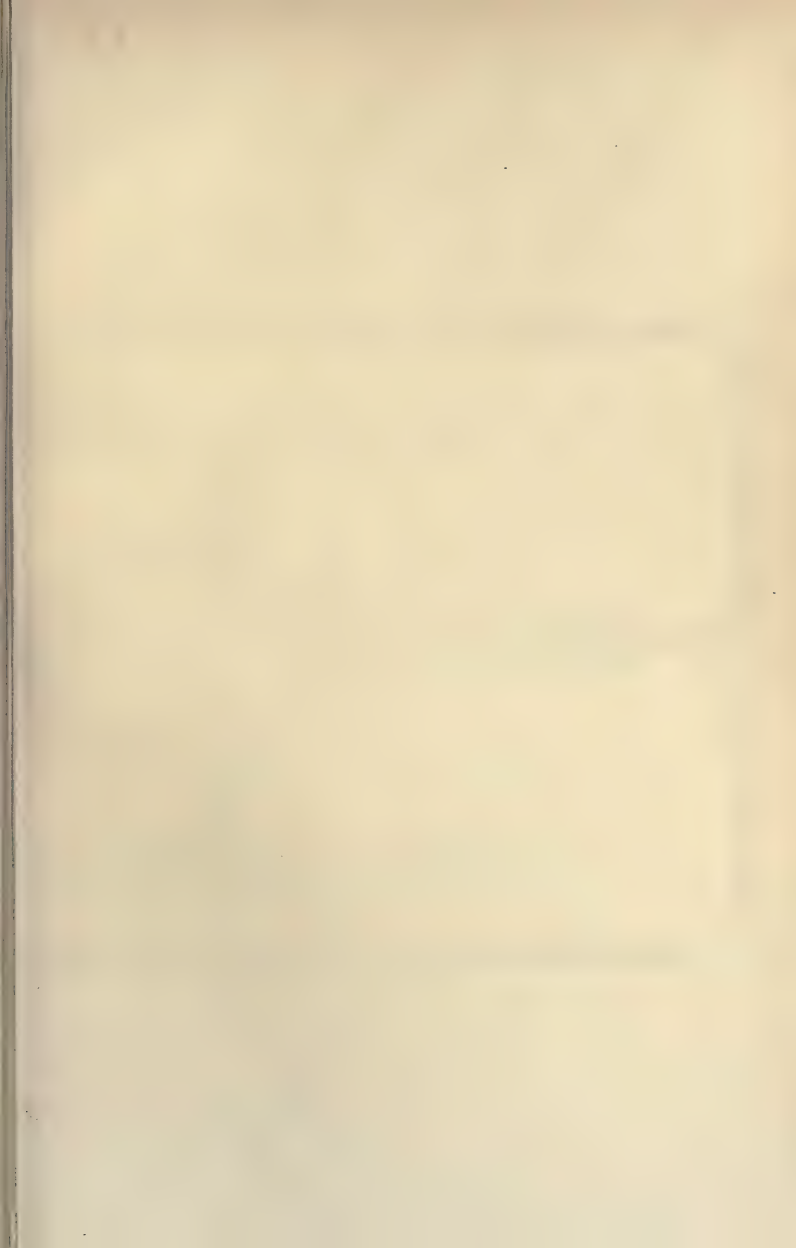
I.

DAME MARGERY CALVELEY, WIDOW OF PHILIP EGERTON,
DEC. 1509, BUT BRASS ENGRAVED, C. 1495.

Large full length effigy under good triple canopy with marginal inscription. The figure turned slightly to the right, is represented wearing the kennel-shaped head-dress with long ornamented lappets, a plain close fitting gown, cut square at the neck and having large fur cuffs at the wrists. Round the hips is an ornamented girdle clasped by three rosettes from which hang a long chain terminating in a bell-shaped ornament. On the right, at the feet of the figure, are the small effigies of four sons in civil dress. On the left are four daughters in kennel-shaped head-dresses and close fitting gowns. From the mouth of the figure of Dame Margery proceeds a scroll inscribed:—

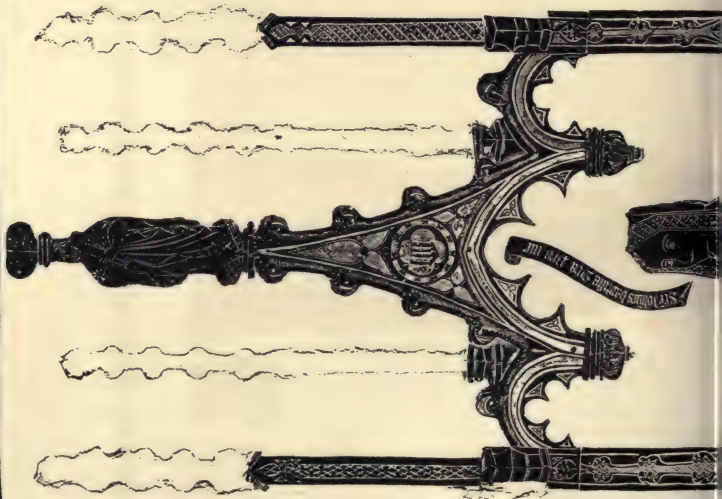
Et Johannes baptista Ora pro me

Above the figure is a triple canopy of a debased character, highly decorative but heavy in its detail; in the



Ed William Hamblen, late of Infield, sitting up in to Philip

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1853 11 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1



DAME MARGERY CALVELEY.

C. 1495.

IGHTFIELD, SALOP.





ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, FROM THE BRASS TO
DAMN MARGERY CALVELEY, C. 1495.
IGHTFIELD, SHROPSHIRE.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

centre pediment is a quatrefoil enclosing a shield on which is the initial P. M. E. for Philip and Margery Egerton. The centre finial terminates in a small figure of St. John the Baptist holding in his left hand a book whereon is the Holy Lamb and banner. A curious feature in St. John's raiment is the representation of the camel's neck and head forming a pendant to his skin robe. Some of the smaller finials of the canopy are lost.

A marginal inscription in black letter encloses the whole :—

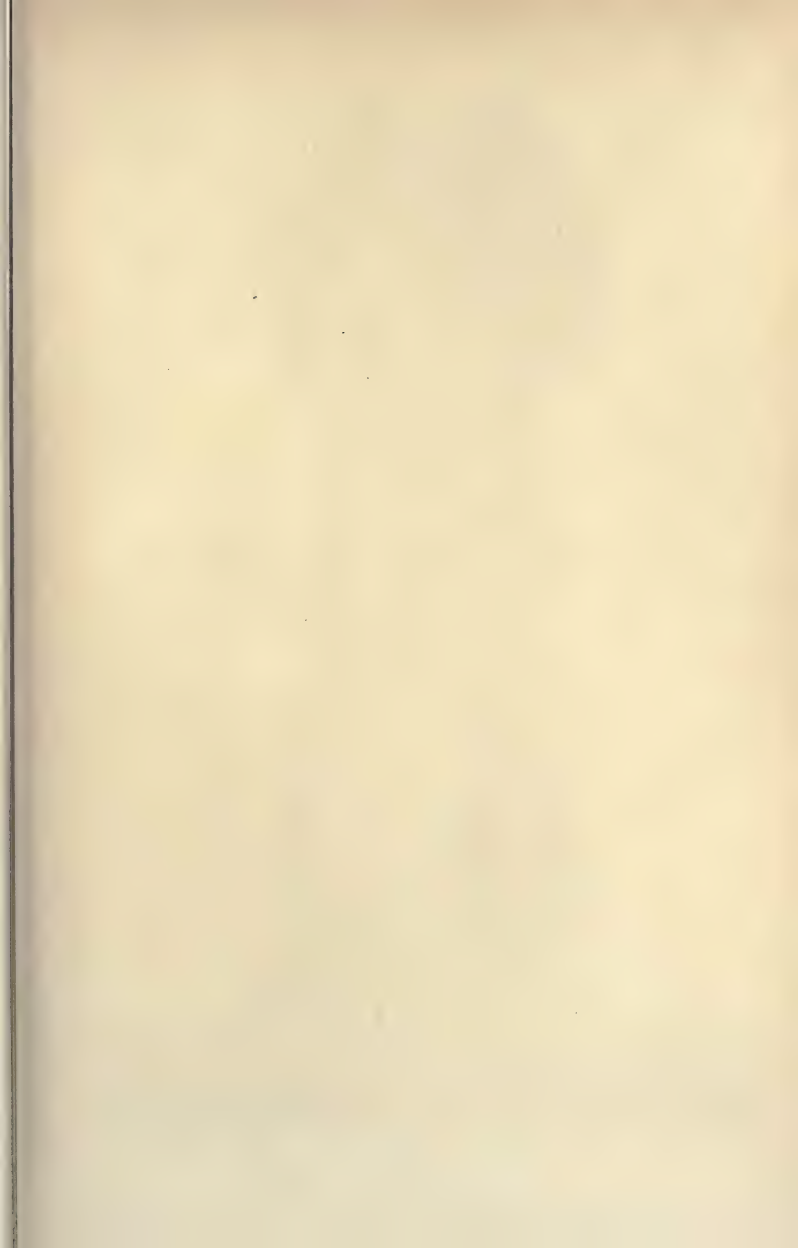
Here lyeth dame Margery Calveley dowghter To William
Maynwaryng late of Ightfeld Sutyne wyf unto Philipp Egerton
late of Egerton squyer by the which Philipp she had thise Children
the which Decessyd the day of the yere of ooure lord
MCCCC on whos soule ihu habe mcy ame.

At the four corners in the place of the usual symbols of the Evangelists are four shields all apparently bearing *chequy* (*arg.*) and (*sa.*), for WARREN, of Ightfield.

The effigy measures 42 inches in height and the size of the whole composition is 7 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ft. 6 ins. It lies at the west end of the north aisle.

Dame Margery, a daughter of William Maynwaryng, of Ightfield, was thrice married; firstly to Philip Egerton, Esq., of Egerton, who was aged 26 years in 38 Hen. VI., and died 13 Edw. IV. (*Inquis. post mort.*). Of their children, John, the eldest son was 15 years of age at the time of his father's death, and died 1 Ric. III. (*Inquis. p. m.*). The second son, Sir Ralph, was chief ranger of Delamere forest and standard bearer of England. The other two may have died young. The daughters were Anne, Katherine, Ellen, and Elizabeth, all subsequently married. Dame Margery's second husband was Thomas Hurleton, of whom no details are known; her third, Sir Hugh Calveley, Knt., of Lee, who was aged 12 years in 11 Hen. VI. and died 10 Hen. VII. (*Inquis. p. m.*). Dame Margery died 1 Hen. VIII. (*Inquis. p. m.*).

The brass was laid down in her lifetime and after her third marriage, but the date of death has never been filled in.





Here lyeth the Good William Maynwaring the second son of Richard Maynwaring
 & Margaret his wife daughter & heir of Thymon Wynter & Lady of Hightfield & he
 William was Alperall butler to this Lancr and he dyed the 5th day of
 March the 1497m in the 100th year of our lordes Solles god almighty have mercy Amen

0 20"

"THE GOOD" WILLIAM MAYNWARYNG.

II.

WILLIAM MAYNWARYNG, 1497.

Full length effigy, head lost, wearing a long tunic lined with fur, the sleeves full, of uniform breadth and edged with fur. The close fitting sleeves of an under-dress appear at the wrists. The tunic is confined round the waist by a girdle to which are attached a rosary, one end of which is secured by a tassel and the other by a hook from which hangs a signet ring, a gypcière or pouch and a long anelace with a small knife, called the "bastardeau," placed beside the hilt. This is a late example of the use of the anelace; the same method of carrying the knife may be seen on a stone effigy of a knight at Yatton, Somerset, and on the effigy of William Canyngs, at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. The shoes are broad with round toes.

Below the figure is a black letter inscription in four lines:—

Here lyeth the Good William Maynwaryng the Second sone of
 Hawkyn Maynwaryng
 z Margarete his wyf doughter z heire of Gryffyn Waren z Lady of
 Ightefelde whiche
 William was Aspeciall bnfactor to this Church and he dyssesyd
 the Syxt day of
 Marche Anno dni millio CCCC^o LXXXVII^o on whos Soles
 god almyghty haue m'ercy Amen.

The figure in its present condition measures 39 inches in height and 14 inches from elbow to elbow. The inscription plate measures 28 inches by 5 inches. The head was lost previously to 1793.

"The good" William Maynwaryng was the second son of Hawkyn Maynwaryng by his wife Margaret, daughter and heiress of Gryffin Waren, and Lady of Ightfield. He was also a special benefactor to the church.

For many years this brass has been missing from the church. It disappeared during a restoration, in fact passed as a builder's perquisite, probably because it wanted a head. However, within the last few months it has

been fortunately recovered and is now in the possession of the Rev. J. Cooper Wood, the Clive Vicarage, Shrewsbury, to whom the writer is indebted for facilities for taking the rubbing from which the illustration is reproduced. Mr. Wood proposes to replace the brass in its original place.¹ Of its identification there can be no doubt, in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 21,236, fol. 266, is a sketch of the brass made in Ightfield Church on August 28th, 1793. It is also mentioned in *Haines' Manual* under Ightfield.

MYDDLE.

Haines' in his *List of Brasses*, under Middle mentions the existence of (1) A man in armour, c. 1490, peculiar (*i.e.*, by a local or Warwickshire artist); (2) A fragment, seven sons (Corbet family?), c. 1530.

Of these two brasses there is no record. No mention of them occurs in *Gough's History of Myddle*, nor is anything to be found in the various manuscript collections of Shropshire church notes in the British Museum. The present rector, who has held office for nearly fifty years, has never seen any trace of them.

I.

ARTHUR CHAMBRE, 1564, AND WIFE MARGARET.

Full length effigies turned sideways. Arthur Chambre in ruff, doublet, trunk hose, and fur-lined gown, with long false sleeves. His wife wears the "Paris hede," ruff, overgown with turned back collar and puffed and slashed sleeves, from the waist the overgown is open showing the undergown and from a long cord hangs an ornament, perhaps a pomander-box.

¹ Since the above was written the brass has been placed in the hands of Mr. A. P. Heywood Lonsdale, patron of the living of Ightfield, who is about to

have it placed in a new slab and laid down in the church; the head is to be restored and a short inscription stating this added.

Below the figures is a black letter inscription in six lines :—

Here lyeth buried In the mercy of Ihesus Christ ye bodeye of Arthure
Chambre getylmā trewe Patrone of this pysshe churche of Middle
and Margarette his wyfe by hit he had issuc one sonne and
one doughter whiche Arthure deceassyd the xix day of August
in the yere of our lord god a MCCCCXXiii whois bodeye z
soull God graunte a Joyefull resurrexyon Amen.

Below the figures are the small effigies of a son and a daughter on a single plate.

Above the figures is a shield of arms :—

Arg., a fess compony or and az. between three lions' heads erased sa., within a bordure gu. charged with eight escallops of the first. CHAMBRE. impaling, Quarterly I. and IV. *Or, a lion rampant gu.* CHARLTON. II. and III. *gu. ten bezants 4. 3. 2. and 1.* ZOUCHE.

The effigies measure 21 inches in height and the brass lies on the chancel floor. It has been relaid.

Arthur Chambres, "de Petton," married Margaret, daughter of Francis Charlton, of Appleby, Salop.

II.

RAPHE KINASTON, M.A., PARSON, 1629.

Inscription only. Size of plate $17\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

HERE LYETH Y^E BODY OF RAPHE KINASTON
M^R OF ARTS, PREBEND OF S^T ASAPH, CHAP-
LAIND TO KING IAMES, PARSON OF MIDDLE
WHEARE AFTER 33 YEARES HE HAD CARE-
FULLY AND RELIGIOVSLY PERFORMED HIS
CALLING, HIS SOVLE WENT VNTO HIS
MAKER TO GIVE ACCOVMP^T THEREOF
NOVEMBER THE 8 : ANNO : D^NI 1629
ANNO : ÆTAT : 69

Chancel.

III.

SARAH, WIFE OF JOSHUA RICHARDSON, 1651.

Inscription only. Size of plate 26 by 11½ inches.

HEERE LIETH INTERRED THE BODY OF SARAH THE
WIFE OF IOSHVA RICHARDSON OF BROVGHTO GEN^T
BY WHOME HEE HAD TENNE SONS, & SIX DAUGHTER^s
SHEE DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE XITH DAY OF MAY. An^o

Dni: 1651 Anozz Aetatis suae sexagesima

THY GAINE MY LOSSE MY GREIFE I MUST SVPPRESSE
LEAST I SHOVL D SEEME TO GRVDGE THY HAPPINESS
MY STARR IS SETT ON EARTH IN HEAVEN TO SHINE
RISE SOVLE EMBRACE THE SVN THY LOSSE IS GAINE
Chancel.

ONIBURY.

DOROTHY PYTT, 1657.

Inscription only.

*In obitum dorothe pytt
charissimæ uxoris E. P.*

HERE LIES DIVORCED FROM HER HUSBAND'S SIDE
ONE THAT BY DEATH IS MADE HER SAVIOVR'S BRIDE
FOR ON GOOD FRIDAY HE DID HER BETROTH
VNTO HIMSELF FOR EVER WHERE HE GOTTH
AND THVS VNITED SHE A GVEST BECAME
VNTO THE MARRIAGE SVPPER OF THE LAMBE
LEAVING HER EARTHLY MATE GRIEFE TO SVSTAINIE
TILL DEATH BY STRICKING HIM WEDDS HER AGAINE
OH LANGVISH THEN MY SOVLE VNTILL I SEE
MY DEAREST WIFE IN HER FELICITIE.

1657.

South wall of chancel.

SHIPTON.

Inscription only.

This Chauncell was reedified and builded
of newe from the foundation and glazed
at the chardges of John Lutwich youngest
sonne of Richard Lutwich of Lutwiche
in the xxxi yeare of the Gracious
reigne of Queene Elizabeth 1589.

North wall of chancel.

SHREWSBURY, ST. ALKMUND.

LOST BRASSES.

“At the hasty and most shameful destruction of the church of St. Alkmund, Shrewsbury, about the close of the last century, ‘no care was taken to preserve the numerous gravestones, brasses, tombs, and other ancient memorials with which the aisles and chapels abounded. They were involved, with very few exceptions, in the general havoc, *the brasses were sold by weight*, and the gravestones dispersed and converted to common uses.’” *Haines’ Manual*, Introd. p. 258 quoting *Owen and Blake-way’s Hist. of Shrewsbury*, II. p. 299.

“In 1794 a gentleman went to copy the inscriptions on the brasses at St. Alkmund’s, Shrewsbury, and found that they had been sold by order of the churchwardens to a neighbouring brazier.” *Gent. Mag.*, 1794, pt. II, p. 1,087.

“Some of the Shrewsbury brasses are probably in the possession of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.” *Haines*, Introd. p. 258.

The gentleman referred to was Mr. — Smith, of Radbrook, near Shrewsbury, in whose possession were the following:—I. A civilian, c. 1520. II. A civilian, c. 1520. III. A lady, c. 1520. IV. A civilian and wife, c. 1530, *Haines*, Private Possession, &c., p. 235. See also *Notes and*

Queries, I S, vol. xi, p. 499. Mr. Smith has been dead for many years and all trace of these brasses is now lost.

In the British Museum, Add. MSS. 21, 236–37, are two volumes entitled—*Drawings of Monuments and Inscriptions from churches and chapels in Shropshire executed by the Rev. Edward Williams, 1792–1803, with indexes to each volume. Paper. Folio.* Some of the St. Alkmund brasses are drawn in 21, 236, fol. 71, *et. seq.*, under date May 24th, 1793. Others are figured in *Owen and Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury*, vol. ii, p. 286, principally taken from Mr. Mytton's MSS.

The volume containing Mr. Mytton's drawings is not with his other collections now in the British Museum. A MS. of Dugdale's also referred to by the Shrewsbury Historian is not now to be found.

From the above and other minor sources the following account is drawn.

I.

SIMON WALSH AND WIFE JOAN, c. 1370.

Owen and Blakeway, vol. ii, p. 288, give a rough engraving of this brass and the following account:—

“A rich brass, in the middle aisle, of a man and woman under two rich niches. He in a coat to his knees, and short cloak, with a beast at his feet, and this inscription on a plate of brass fixed on a large marble”:—

“*hic jacent Simon Walshe & Johana uxor ejus quorum animabus p^{ro}picietur imprecor deus.*”

The Rev. Edward Williams' drawing in Add. MS. 21, 236, fol. 74, taken May 24th, 1793, makes the brass small but set in a very large stone. The indent of the inscription plate is shown as long and narrow. The brass was then “in the middle of the nave on a grey marble slab.” Unfortunately neither Blakeway nor Williams give the dimensions of the slab or the size of the brass.

This brass must have been a very curious one, and may have been of foreign origin, but neither of the drawings are satisfactory, and leave much to be desired. The general design showed the figures of a civilian and wife,



SIMON WALSH AND WIFE JOAN.

C. 1370.

SHREWSBURY, ST. ALKMUND.



A CIVILIAN.

C. 1400.

From drawings in Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 21,236, fols. 74, 83.

c. 1370, under a double canopy. Below was a narrow inscription plate. The man was represented with long hair and beard, and wore the short tight fitting cotehardie with cape and hood; from under the cape hang the long liripipes or streamers of the hood. Round the hips was an ornamented belt, and the legs were clothed in tight hose. At his feet was a "beast," but whether lion, dog, or what, it is impossible to say.

The lady apparently wore some sort of head-dress with a veil, and according to Blakeway's engraving a tight fitting kirtle, but Williams' drawing gives in addition long liripipes hanging from the shoulders.

The canopy consisted of two arches with cusping in the heads, the shafts ornamented with quatrefoils carried round the heads. The outer buttresses divided into niches with small figures (saints or weepers?) therein, two on each side, and finished with pinnacles. Over the main arches was a mass of tabernacle and finial work.

The design of the canopy is somewhat similar to that of the Flemish example at North Mimms, Middlesex c. 1360. As regards size, if Mr. Williams' drawing is to be relied upon, the small Flemish brass at Aveley, Essex, may be compared with this example.

II.

A MAN IN ARMOUR AND WIFE, c. 1380.

Add. MS. 21, 236, fol. 82, gives only the figure of the lady together with the canopy, but the engraving in *Owen and Blakeway* shows the lower portion of the man. When the Rev. Edward Williams made his drawing on May 24th, 1793, the brass was "under north wall of chancel on west side of north transept."

The figures had their right hands joined, the left hand of the man grasped his sword belt, whilst his wife held the cord of her mantle. Judging from Blakeway's engraving the man seems to have worn the bascinet and camail with a tight fitting jupon over his body armour. A rich bawdric supported his sword, on the centre boss

was the letter **R**. The legs were protected by cuisses, large genouillières, and jambs of plate. The feet were then wanting.

The lady wore the nebule head-dress with the hair falling to the shoulders, a close-fitting kirtle buttoned down the front, the sleeves tight and buttoned underneath, the cuffs large and reaching to the knuckles.

Over all was a mantle fastened across the breast by a short cord. From her left hand hung a short chain terminating in a small ornament. At her feet was a small dog with a collar of bells.

Over each figure was a triple canopy with an entablature above, and according to the drawings the canopy was groined. There appears also to have been a marginal inscription.

Nothing is known of the persons represented on this brass. *Owen and Blakeway* give an illustration, Vol. ii, p. 286, and the following account :—

“An extremely rich brass, representing a warrior and lady hand in hand, under two most elaborate Gothick canopies: at her feet a little dog. This is unnoticed by Dugdale; and the upper half of the man was stripped off before Mr. W. Mytton saw it. It was let into a very large slab of granite, 8 feet by 3 feet 7 inches; but without either arms or legend to indicate the persons intended. The stone, however, had been subsequently employed to record the interment of another person by the following inscription, which ran along the ledge :—

MARY DAUGHTER TO IHON OTTELEY GENT. AND WYFE TO
RICHARD OWEN MERCER GENT. DECESSED AN'O D'NI 1568.

The fourth word of this legend must, we conceive, be the remains of THOM.: for Mary, the daughter and co-heir of THOMAS Ottley, of Shrewsbury, *did* marry Richard Owen of the same town, and we can find no other family of the names in which so many particulars concur. The time agrees as well as the names, for the articles of the marriage bear date, Oct. 9, 23 Hen. VIII. 1531, and from this union sprung the learned judge Thomas Owen.”

III.

A CIVILIAN, c. 1400.

In *Owen and Blakeway*, vol. ii, p. 288, is a rude engraving of a brass “supposed Barker’s,” showing the figure of a civilian, with mantle and anelace, under a



A MAN IN ARMOUR (LOST) AND WIFE.

C. 1380.

SHREWSBURY, ST. ALKMUND.

From a drawing in Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 21,236, fol. 82.

single canopy, the side shafts then existing but the upper part lost and shown in outline only. The indents of two shields above the canopy are also shown, one on the sinister apparently a merchant mark as the cross and streamers appear above the shield proper. The following account is also given:—

“On a stone 7 feet 8 inches by within the rails of the communion table towards the south, a brass of a man in a gown, with a dagger by his side, standing under a rich canopy. In Mr. Mytton's time this was ‘supposed to be one of the Barkers of Haghmond’: but that family did not settle there till after the Dissolution, and this brass seems much more ancient. If the dagger did not oppose the notion, we should call the figure an ecclesiastick.”

The Rev. Edward Williams' drawing in Add. MS. 21, 236, fol. 83, dated May 24th, 1793, represents the figure alone, and is apparently reversed; his drawing may perhaps have been copied from an impression taken by means of printer's ink, and the fact that he was drawing from a reversed impression overlooked. That Mr. Williams occasionally made such impressions is proved by a copy of the Pontesbury inscription taken at this date and now bound into his collections.

The figure represented a civilian with close cropped hair and forked beard. The closely buttoned tight-fitting sleeves of an under-dress appeared at the wrists, over this was a tunic with close fitting sleeves, and over all an ample mantle buttoned on the right shoulder and gathered up under the left arm. From an ornamented belt passing over the left shoulder hung an anelace. The shoes were long and pointed. To the mantle was attached a hood. Similar figures exist at Northleach, c. 1400, and at Chipping Campden, 1401, both in Gloucestershire, and engraved in *Boutell's Series of Monumental Brasses*.

IV.

THOMAS CORBET, ESQ., 1436, AND WIFE ANCARET.

Owen and Blakeway, vol. ii, p. 287, give an engraving of this brass and the following account:—

“A large slab, 10 feet 7 inches by 4 feet 9 inches, in the south aisle, thereon brasses of a warrior and lady: he is helmeted and in plate

armour, his face disclosed, his hands joined in prayer, by his side a sword and dagger; his feet resting on a lion. The lady in a flat but highly adorned head-dress, her veil thrown back: robed in a long open mantle; at her feet two small dogs. Four shields decorated this tomb: three of which had disappeared in Mr. Mytton's time: but when Dugdale visited the church, that over the man's head bore the single raven of Corbet, and the fourth, under the lady's feet, bore the same coat, impaling three pallets surmounted of Barry of seven: intended, no doubt, for the arms of Barre. There was no inscription remaining, but Mr. Mytton describes the stone as remaining in the Talbot's chancel, and said to be of that family: and he afterwards found in a book of William Salusbury's of Rûg, the great genealogist, the following inscription, which proves the correctness of the tradition."

"*Hic jacent Thomas Corbet de Morton armiger et Anachoreta uxor ejus filia Thomae Barre militis junior & dnæ Aliciæ uxoris ejus soror Johis dñi Talbot qui quidem Thomas obiit M. CCC. XXXVI & p̄ca Ankareta obiit die anno.*"

The Rev. Edward Williams gives a very careful drawing of this brass in Add. MS. 21, 236, fol. 71, under date May 24th, 1793, and notes that it was then in the "South Chancel."

The brass consisted of two effigies, four shields of arms on large quatrefoils, and a marginal inscription with, probably, the symbols of the Evangelists at the corners. Thomas Corbet was represented in complete plate armour, wearing the slightly pointed bascinet, plate gorget, epaulières composed of overlapping plates, cotes slightly heart shaped, gauntlets with large peaked cuffs, breastplate with pallets to defend the armpits. A long skirt of taces with two small tuilles buckled on the bottom, cuisses, genouillières, and jambs protect the legs, the feet being encased in pointed sollerets with rowel spurs. The sword was suspended from a narrow ornamented belt crossing the skirt of taces diagonally. At the left side was fastened the misericorde. Under the feet was a lion.

His wife Ancaret, wore the horned head-dress with flowing veil, tight fitting kirtle and mantle. At her feet were two small dogs with collars of bells.

The lower sinister quatrefoil, the only one remaining in 1793, bore a shield charged with—*Or, a raven sa. CORBET, impaling Paly arg. and sa. four bars gu. BARRE.*



THOMAS CORBET, ESQ., AND WIFE ANCARET.

1488.

SHREWSBURY, ST. ALKMUND.

From a drawing in Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 21,236, fol. 71.



Thomas Corbet, Esq., of Morton, married Ancaret, a daughter of Sir Thomas Barre, Knt., by his wife Alice, sister of John, Lord Talbot. Thomas Corbet died in 1436 without issue. His widow is said to have afterwards married Jenkin Hanmer, Esq., of Hanmer.

V.

JOHN HERVY, 1470, JOHN HUMFRESTON, 1497, AND THEIR WIFE MARGERY.

BRASS ENGRAVED C. 1500.

Owen and Blakeway give no illustration but supply the following account in vol. ii, p. 288 :—

“A marble 6 feet 11 inches by 2 feet 11½ inches, towards the ascent to the altar, with the brass of a woman between two men in long gowns edged with fur: under the man on the left hand three daughters and a son: under the other man, six sons and as many daughters. At the two left hand corners, *i.e.*, over and under Humfreston, a shield of his arms: an eagle displayed, debruised by a chevron charged with three roses: at the upper right hand corner a tradesman's mark.”

The Rev. Edward Williams under date May 24, 1793, gives a sketch of this brass in Add. MS. 21,236, fol. 73, and notes it was then “On the north side of the chancel bet^w y^e seats & the steps leading to y^e communion table.” The figures of the children were then lost.

From Owen and Blakeway's account and from Mr. Williams' drawing a full account of the brass is obtainable.

In the centre was the figure of the wife turned sideways so as to be looking towards her second husband John Humfreston whose figure was on her right hand, on her left was the figure of John Hervy. Both the husbands were represented full face and wore similar dresses, viz., long fur-lined gowns with wide sleeves also lined with fur. Both had long hair and broad round toed shoes. Attached to their girdles were gypcières or pouches.

Their wife Margery wore the kennel shaped head-dress and the close fitting gown with fur edging and cuffs usually associated with this head-dress. Round the hips was a broad ornamented belt with a long pendent end

terminating in ornamented metal work. Below the figures was a black letter inscription in five lines:—

Hic jacent Johes Herby et Johes Humfreston Burgenses ville
 salopie et Margeria uxor eor^o
 et pdict^o Johes Herby obiit A^o dñi millio CCCCXX et pdict^o
 Johes Humfreston obiit ultimo
 die mes^o marcii A^o dñi millio CCCC nonagesimo bii ac etiam
 Margeria uxor pdictor^o obiit
 die mensis Anno dñi millio quingentesimo quor^o
 Animabz ppiciet^o de^o ame

Below the inscription were the groups of children. Under Humfreston three daughters and one son in two groups; under Hervy six sons and six daughters also in two groups.

At the four corners were shields, the upper and lower dexter charged with the arms of HUMFRESTON:—*Arg., an eagle displayed sa., over all a chevron gu. charged with three roses of the first*—; the upper sinister bore the merchant mark of John Hervy, the lower sinister was lost in 1793 but probably contained a similar mark.

Owen and Blakeway state that “John Humfreston was a vintner in Shrewsbury, and a son of William Humfreston, of Humfreston. He was admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury in 15 Edw. IV.”

Margery survived her second husband and caused the brass to be made about the year 1500, leaving a blank for the date of her own death. This blank, as usual, had never been filled in.

THOMAS PONTISBURY, 1514, AND WIFE ELIZABETH.

Mentioned in *Owen and Blakeway*, vol. ii, p. 288:—

“The earliest memorial with a date was the following, noticed by Dugdale. On another plate of brass let into marble”:

“Hic jacent Thomas Pontisbury quondam mercator stapule
 Calisie qui obiit 26 die Martis ano dñi 1514 et Elizabetha uxor
 ejus que obiit nono die Septembris a^o 1513.”



JOHN HERVY, JOHN HUMFRESTON, AND THEIR WIFE MARGERY.

C. 1500.

SHREWSBURY, ST. ALKMUND.

"The person here recorded was bailiff of the Town three times between 1469 and 1489. He was not the first of the name interred in this church: for our MS. Chronicle, under 1400, says, 'this yere Wm. Ponsbury died, and lyethe in St. Alkmoond's,' and another William Pontysbury, the same, no doubt, who was bailiff in 1493, in his will, the probate of which bears date 15 March, 1510, and in which he mentions Elizabeth his wife, and Helyne and Dorothy his daughters, the former of them then married to Thomas Buryton, orders himself to be buried in this church."

There is no mention of this brass in the Rev. Edward Williams' collections.

VI.

GEORGE PONTESBURY, 1550, AND WIFE JANE, 1553.

WITH ADDITIONS IN 1636.

In Add. MS. 21,236, fol. 83, is an unfinished drawing of the armed figure of George Pontesbury. At fol. 88, is an impression taken with printer's ink, "from a brass plate lying in the closet on the north side of St. Alkmund's church, Shrewsbury, originally fixed in a marble monument in the chancel of that church, Oct. 4, 1793."

This was the inscription below the figures.

In *Owen and Blakeway*, vol. ii, p. 289, is an engraving of the brass, here reproduced, and the following account:—

"A marble inlaid with brass. The inscriptions are given thus by Dugdale, somewhat more fully than in the engraving."

"*Hic jacet Georgius Pontisburi et Jana uxor ejus et eorum duo filii viz Thomas Pont: et Georgius Pontes: necnon Dorothea Owen una cum Sara una filiar^{um} Richardi Gatley de Pitchlorke armigeri quae fuit uxor Edwardi Owen ar. filii dictae Dorotheae qui et ipse hic situs est in domino Monumentum autem hoc secundum voluntatem patris fieri fecit filius ejus Pontesbury natu maximus A^o M. CCCCXXXVI.*"

"On a plate at the feet of their portraitures":

Here lyeth George Pontesbury ye sone of Thomas Pontesbury late of Adbryghtlye wch dyed the tenth day of October A^o dni 1550 and in ye flouthyere of the raygne of Kyng Edward the sixt and also Jahne his wiffe one of the doughters of Sir Richard Lacon knight which died the last day of June in the seventh yere of ye raygne of ye abowe named worthie p^{re}nce kinge Edward ye sixt on whom ye lord for Jesus Christ' sake have mercy."

"And below":

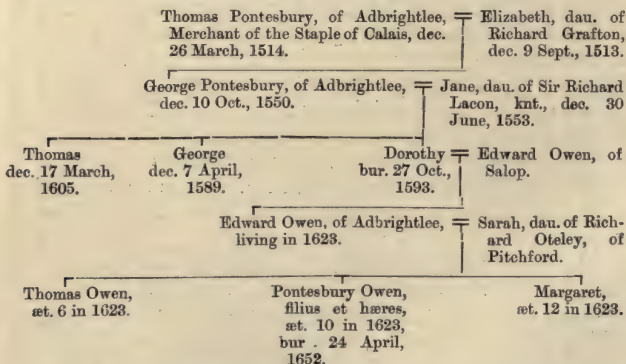
"Thomas Pontesbury
obiit a^o dñi MCCCCV."

"Georgius Pontesbury
obiit 1589 April VII."

"The fourth shield, now a blank, bore in Dugdale's time, the arms of Ottley."

"The inscription as engraved, and also as it exists in Dugdale's transcript, presents an insurmountable difficulty, making the stone to have been laid down in 1536 to the memory of persons, all of whom, except one, died many years after that date. But Mr. W. Mytton's drawing supplies the deficient century by adding a sixth C: and the inscription was assuredly cut in 1636. There is exactly the same mistake of a century in the date of the second Thomas Pontesbury, who certainly died in 1605, as is proved by the parish register and here also Mr. Mytton supplies a sixth C."

A short pedigree will better show the relationship of the persons mentioned in the inscription:



The brass consisted of two effigies, an inscription below, six shields of arms, four scrolls and a marginal inscription. Two scrolls and one shield were lost at the time the drawing was made.

The figure of George Pontesbury was in armour with a mantle over it. His wife wore the "Paris head" with depressed centre, an overgown and apparently a ruff.

Of the shields the upper dexter and two centre bore the arms of PONTESBURY—*Sa., on a fess between three martlets or as many fleur-de-lys az.* The upper sinister LACON—*Quarterly of six I and VI. Quarterly per fess indented erm. and az. LACON. II. . . . a cross engrailed*

fecit filius eius pontesburm natu marinus A^m ccccc xxx vi

uadi Allen Astlyp ditta Dorathe x. que et ipse huius est in donato monenti ante hoc secundu volutatem patris fieri



herelyeth George Pontesbury y^e Son of Thomas Pontesbury
late of Adbrighten w^h dyed the tenth daye of October A^m dni
1550. and in y^e 11th year of the Reigne of Kinge Edward
the Sixt. and alioe yehme his wife one of the Daughters of Sir
Richard Bacon knight which died the last daye of June in the
seventh yere of y^e reigne of y^e aboue named Worthynockinge
Edward y^e Sixt on whome lord for Iesus Christ take heuene recey



Thomas Pontesbury: obijt
A^m dom. m. cccccc.



Georgius Pontesbury obiit
Anno domini 1589. A. m. viij.



owen. luna ann Sara

ma thammurichadi y^e allep deffichforthe Armigena que hui

. . . III. *Or, a bend cotised sa.* HARLEY. IV. *Az., three round buckles or,* REMEVILL. V. . . . *two chevrons within a bordure engrailed* . . . The lower dexter, OWEN—*Or, a lion rampant gu.* The lower sinister according to Dugdale, OTLEY—*Arg., on a bend az., three oat garbs or.*

The marginal inscription states that Pontesbury Owen caused the monument to be placed in 1636, but the costume of the figures agrees more with the date of the deaths of George and Jane Pontesbury. Most probably Pontesbury Owen added the marginal inscription and the various shields to the two figures and inscription already on the stone.

VII.

RICHARD PROWDE, 1608, AND WIFE ALICE.

Mentioned by *Owen and Blakeway*, vol. ii, p. 290 :

"In the south aisle. On a plate of brass, having the figures of a man and woman, the man in a gown, and under them this inscription":

"HERE LYETH THE BODY OF RICHARD PROWDE DRAPER, HUSBAND OF ALICE PROWDE, DECEASED THE 25 DAY OF AUGUST 1608, AND HAD YSSUE 2 SONS RICHARD & JAMES & SIX DAUGHTERS, ANNE, MARY DECEASED, ELIANOR, MARY, SARAH, MARGARET."

SHREWSBURY, ST. MARY.

JOHN GARDINER, 1628.

Inscription with shield of arms. Size of plate 22 by 7 inches.

IN MEMORIAM SPECTATISSEMI VIRI DOMINI

JOHANNIS GARDINERI

GRATIA SANCTA DEI TIBI FVLST CHARE JOHANNES

EX RE NOMEN HABES HOC TVA VITA PROBAT

HORTI CVLTOR ERAS TIBI CVRA SOLOQ POLOQ

PLANTAS EGREGIAS ADDERE SVMA FVIT

RESVRGENTIS LÆTITIA

HINC SVRGO PROPERAT MEDIATOR IN AERE CHRISTVS

OBVIVS HVIC RAPIOR SEMPER EROQ COMES 1628.

In the lower sinister corner is a shield charged with the arms of GARDINER—*per fess arg. and sa. a pale counter-changed and three griffins' heads erased of the second.*

Mural. North Transept.

TONG.

I.

SIR WILLIAM VERNON, 1467, AND WIDOW MARGARET.

Full length effigies of Sir William Vernon in armour, and Dame Margaret in widow's attire, seven sons, five daughters (two lost), eight shields of arms and marginal inscription.

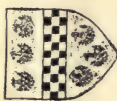
For good workmanship, general effect, and wealth of heraldry this is the finest example in the county.

Sir William is represented in armour, bare-headed, his head resting on a tilting helmet having the Vernon crest—a *boar's head*—and rich mantling. His armour consists of a collar of mail with vandycked edge, breast-plate with demi-placcates, pauldrons or shoulder pieces differing in shape, that on the left arm being further strengthened by a serrated ridge, the coutes or elbow pieces are of an extravagant size, the gauntlets are shell backed with long peaked cuffs, the fingers defended by small overlapping plates, the skirt of taces is long and terminates in a mail fringe over which are buckled two large and heavy tuiles, the genouillières have plates behind, and the sollerets are long and pointed with unguarded rowel spurs. The sword is suspended diagonally in front of the body, from a plain narrow belt whilst the misericorde is attached to the taces on the left side. Above the figure is a scroll inscribed ;—

Benedictus deus in donis suis.

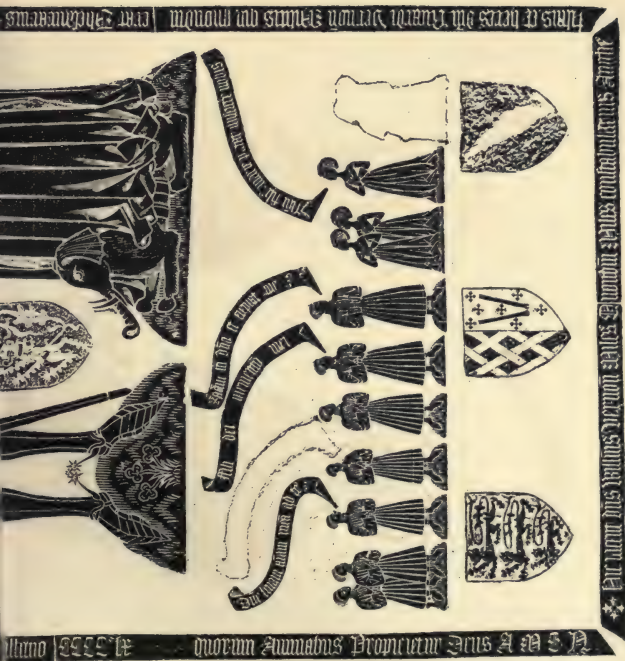
Dame Margaret is represented in widow's attire. She wears the veil head-dress, a barbe covering the shoulders like a cape, a gown with tight sleeves and a sideless cote-hardie; over all is a mantle lined with ermine and fastened by a cord and tassels. At her feet is a curious repre-

Uxor Johannis de ...



et Johannis de ...

Obiit ... die ... Anno ...



25"

SIR WILLIAM VERNON, KNT., AND WIDOW MARGARET.

1487.

TONG, SALOP.

sentation of an elephant, and from her mouth proceeds a scroll bearing :—

Ehū fili dauid miserere nob°

Below the effigies are the small figures separately inlaid—except in the case of the two youngest sons and the two eldest and two youngest daughters—of seven sons and five daughters. The sons are all in civil costume; from the mouth of the eldest proceeds a scroll inscribed :—

Sp'auí in dño et crepiat me.

From the mouth of the second son :—

ffili dei memento mei.

From the mouth of the fourth the scroll is lost.

From the mouth of the fifth :—

Dñc leuauí aśām meā ad te.

The third, sixth, and seventh sons have no scrolls.

The daughters—originally five in number but the figures of the two youngest are now lost—wear a modified type of the butterfly head-dress and close fitting gowns cut low at the neck; the figure of the third daughter is somewhat larger than the others, her gown is trimmed with fur, and from her mouth proceeds a scroll inscribed :—

Ehū fili° marie pietat° miserere nobis

There are eight shields of arms inlaid in the slab, three at the top, three at the bottom, and two in the centre between the figures.

Top row :—

(Dexter). *Az., three bars or.* PEMBRUGE.

(Centre). *Az., crusily two pipes or.* PYPE.

(Sinister). *Sa., a fess chequy az. and or, between six escallops arg.* DURVASSALL.

Centre :—

(Upper). *Arg., fretty sa.* VERNON.

(Lower). *Arg., a lion rampant gu, collared and crowned or.* STACPOLE.

Bottom row :

(Dexter). *Az., three lions passant in pale arg.* CAMVILLE.

(Centre). VERNON impaling PYPE.

(Sinister). *Arg., a bend engrailed gu. (?)*. TREAMTON (?)

This last coat occurs amongst the Vernon quarterings on the tomb of Sir George Vernon, "the king of the Peak," 1567, in Bakewell church, Derbyshire. (See *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, by J. Charles Cox, vol. ii, p. 22).

A marginal inscription inlaid in the chamfered edge of the tomb surrounds the whole :—

✠ Hic iacent dñs Willms Vernon Miles Quondm Miles constabularius Anglie filius et heres dñi Ricardi Vernon Militis qui quondm erat Thesaurarius Calesie qui quidem dñs Willms obiit ultimo die Mensis Junii Anno Domini Millimo CCCO XLVII Et Margareta uxor dñi Willi filia Et hereditar^o dñi Roberti Pypis Et Spernores Militis que quidem Margareta obiit die Mensis Anno Domini Millimo CCCO IX quorum Animabus Propicietur Deus AMEN.

The figures measure 3 feet in height and the size of the whole composition is 7 feet by 3 feet. It rests on a high tomb in the nave.

Engravings of this brass may be found in *Waller's Series*, pt. xi, and in *Griffiths' History of Tong*, p. 42.

Mr. Waller gives the following account of the persons commemorated by this brass :—

"Sir William Vernon, of Tong, Shropshire, also of Haddon, Derbyshire, and Harlaston in the county of Stafford, was son of Sir Richard Vernon, speaker of the parliament held at Leicester in 1426, and Treasurer of Calais 1445–51, by Benedicta, daughter of Sir John Ludlow, widow of Sir Fulk de Pembruge. Sir William held the appointment of knight constable of England, at what date does not appear, but probably as successor to Sir Sampson Meverill, who held it from, and in the lifetime of, John duke of Bedford. The knight constable was deputy of the lord high constable of England and kept the constable court. A statute passed 13 Ric. II, 1389, c. ii., declares the jurisdiction of the constable of England, and the power of the court in the pleas which might be

held in it. 'To the constable,' says the Act, 'it pertaineth to have cognizance of contracts touching deeds of arms and of war out of the realm, and also of things that touch war within the realm which cannot be determined nor discussed by the common law.' Sir William Vernon inherited from his father large possessions chiefly in the counties of Derby, Leicester, Salop, and Stafford, and became interested by marriage in other estates to which his wife was heiress. By his will, made on Sunday before the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1467, two days before his decease, Sir William Vernon, 'myghty of mynde,' desired to be buried in the church of St. Bartholomew at Tong, where a tomb was to be made after his own 'devyse,' and a priest to sing thereat for three years. He leaves to his wife Margaret the lordship of Marpul or Tong for life, in lieu of her jointure, which she had given up to their son Henry and his wife; to his four daughters Elizabeth, Margaret, Benett, and Alice, a marriage portion of 500 marks each, provided they dispose themselves according to the wishes of their mother; to his son William an annuity of twenty marks; to Richard the manor of Hasilbach for life; to Ralph the manor of Reworth in fee and all the testator's purchased lands for life; and he appointed Margaret his wife executrix with William Cumberforth and John Penyston, priest. The testator died on the 30th of June, 1467, and the will, still preserved at Somerset House, was proved at Lambeth 27th of June 1468, chaplain Penyston renouncing the executorship."

"Margaret, wife of Sir William Vernon, only daughter and heiress, as it appears, of Sir William Swynfen, of Pipe Ridware, Staffordshire, by Jocosa or Joyce, younger daughter and co-heir of Sir William Durvassal *alias* Spernore, senior, is described upon the brass as 'daughter and heir of Sir Robert Pype and Spernore,' an error which at one time caused much perplexity to genealogists, who found the addition at variance with authentic records. In a deed dated 13 Hen. IV, 1435-6, quoted by Shaw in his *History of Staffordshire* from a manuscript in the Harleian collection, John de la Hay, rector, grants to Richard Whitehill for life a moiety of certain lands in Rushale and Wallesal, co. Stafford, remainder to Margaret

wife of William de Vernon, daughter and heir of *Jocosa*, late wife of William Swynfen, Esq., and to her heirs for ever. William Swynfen, who inherited the Pype estate from his mother Agnes, sister of Sir Robert Pype, styled himself in 1415 William de Pype, and Lady Vernon as heir to her father was sometimes called Margaret de Pype, being, in fact, not daughter, but grandniece to Sir Robert. The Spernore lands she inherited from her mother Jocosa, so that the style 'Sir Robert Pype and Spernore' is altogether a misnomer. The original clause of the inscription, before its obscuration by the scribe or engraver, was perhaps not very different from the following:—*Et Margareta uxor dñi Wiñi filia dñi Willi Pypis et hereditar' dñi Roberti Pypis et dñi Wiñi Spernores Militis, &c.*" (*Waller, Mon. Brasses.*)

"In Dr. Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities considered in a tour through Normandy*, London, fol. 1767, this brass and tomb are described as being in the church of Vernon, in Normandy. Whether a duplicate memorial to Sir William and Lady Vernon ever was erected there cannot now perhaps be ascertained, and is in fact very unlikely, but the engraving which illustrates the author's text is an undoubted, though somewhat inaccurate, reduction of the monument at Tong." (*Ibid.*)

II.

RALPH ELCOK, 1510.

Full length effigy, 25 inches in height, wearing cassock, surplice, and almuce.

Black letter inscription :

Hic iacet Radulph^o Elcok cel^{re} co^{frat} isti^o collegii
qui natus fuit in villa stopfordie infra comitatu
Estric qui obiit in festo s^ce katerine virginis
et marter Anno dñi millmo CCCC^o desimo.

A peculiar figure evidently the work of a provincial artist, possibly made at Coventry. The word following the surname may be intended for a contraction of "cellerarius" but it is not at all clear.

The figure is a good deal worn especially in the upper part. It is now mural in the South Aisle, and is engraved in Griffiths' *History of Tong*, p. 96.



Hic iacet Radulphus filius Roberti de
 qui actus fuit in villa Stapfordie infra comitatu
 Suffrie qui obiit in festo sancte Katherine virginis
 et marce Anno domini millesimo ccccmo

III.

SIR ARTHUR VERNON, M.A., 1517.

Full length effigy in the dress of a master of arts of the University of Cambridge, viz., cassock, surplice, tippet and hood. Above the head of the figure is a chalice (7 inches in height) with conical bowl, open work knop and spreading base with small knops at the points of the feet. Above this is the wafer with a rayed edge and inscribed in the centre with "Ih̄c."



FROM THE BRASS TO SIR ARTHUR
VERNON, 1517.
TONG, SALOP.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ -linear.

Below the effigy is a black letter inscription in three lines:—

Orate specialetur pro aia dñi Arthuri Vernon
In Artibus magri vniuersitatis cantibrigie qui obiit
xbo die Augusti Ao dñi M^o CCCC^o xbijs cui^o aie ppiciet^o de^o

At the corners of the stone are shields of arms:—

- I. (Upper dexter)—*Arg., fretty sa.* VERNON.
- II. (Upper sinister)—Quarterly of six, I. VERNON.
II. *Az., three lions passant in pale arg.* CAMVILLE.
- III. *Arg., a lion rampant gu., collared and crowned or.* STACKPOLE. IV. *Barry of six or and az.* PEMBRUGE.
- V. VERNON *with a canton gu.* VI. *Az., crusily two pipes or.* PYPE.

III. (Lower dexter) as No. II.

IV. (Lower sinister) as No. I.

The effigy measures 42 inches in height and the size of the whole composition is 8 feet 6 inches by 4 feet. It is on the floor of the Vernon Chantry where it was found during the restoration in 1892. Cole, the Cambridge antiquary, noted the figure on the occasion of his visit in 1757, but there is no notice of it in the Rev. Edward Williams' Collections (Add. MSS. 21, 236–37), taken between 1792–1803, so that it was probably floored over sometime between 1757–1803.

The brass is engraved in Griffiths' *History of Tong*, p. 55.

Arthur Vernon was the fifth son of Sir Henry Vernon by his wife Anne, daughter of John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury. He was a master of arts of the University of Cambridge, rector of Whitchurch and warden of the college of Tong. He died 15 August, 1517, and must have been one of the first persons buried in the chapel erected by his father and only completed in 1515. By will dated the last day of September, 8 Hen. VIII, he desires his body to be buried "in the same parish church where I die" and to have a stone "what myn executours thinke best for me and my picture drawn therupon and for the making of my stone I bequeth xxxs." (P. C. C., *Holder*, fol. 35v.)

In the west wall of the same chantry is a curious stone half effigy under a canopy with shields of arms to the same Arthur Vernon.



Dei fidei pro xpo dñi archiepiscopi decano
in archiepiscopo vniuersitatis cantuariensis qui fuit
et die angustie dñi m cccc lvi an au pñcia de



IV.

DAME ELIZABETH DAUNSEY, 1549.

Inscription with shield of arms. Size of plate $17\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Here vnder lyeth interred the bodie of Dame Elizabeth
Dabnsey disceded of the house & family of ye Peckes
first married to Sir John Skeffington knight
sometyme Sheriffe of Londo & after married
to Sr John Dabnsay knight. Obiit Ao dñi. 1549.

Thoughe virtues rare did in this wighte abounde
And welthe at will this worthie ladie did pcesse
Yet nothinge in ye ende her praise did more resounde
then faithe in Iesus Christ with sober godlines
An eie to blynd a lyme to lame she was
To poore a frend Of kynne in eche degre
Both honoured & beloued too loe this dothe vertu pas
To place appointed by the lorde where blessed yt shal be.

Below this plate is a smaller one measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches with the initials J. R., G. S., J. T., in a lozenge between the words

“Posuerunt Pietatis Monumentum.”

Above the inscription is a shield bearing the Skeffington quarterings impaling PECKE or Peche—*Or, three eagles displayed az., the upper dexter one charged on the breast with a crescent for difference.*

For the Skeffington quarterings see No. V.

Mural. Chancel. Engraved in Griffiths' *History of Tong*, p. 86.

V.

WILLIAM SKEFFINGTON, ESQ., 1550.

Inscription with arms, crest, helmet and mantling. Size of plate $17\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Here vnder lyeth interred the bodye of William Skeffington late of the White Ladies Esquire sonne and heire of Sir John Skeffington sometyme of Londo knight. Obiit Ano dñi. 1550

An esquier he was righte hardye to the fealde
 And faithfull to his Prynce in quiet tyme of peace
 But when his course on earthe he had fullfylde
 The Lorde of worldly woos did him release
 And to his kingdome then his soule did call
 His bodeye to dust returned from whence yt came
 Which rayse agayne he will to Joy celestiall
 Where bodeye and soule shall ever prayse his name.

Below is a smaller plate similar in all respects to the one on No. IV.

Above is a square plate rounded at the top, bearing the arms, crest, &c., of Skeffington.

Quarterly of six, I. *Arg.*, *three bulls' heads erased sa.*
 SKEFFINGTON. II. . . . *a bend between two cotises*
and six mullets . . . III. . . . *three birds* . . .
 IV. . . . *a fess dancettée between three crescents* . . .
 V. *Erm.*, *a bend* . . . VI. *Erm.*, *on a chief indented*
 . . . *three escallop shells* . . . *In the fess point a*
crescent . . . *for difference.*

Crest:—*A mermaid with comb and mirror, all proper.*

Mural. Chancel. Engraved in Griffiths' *History of Tong*, p. 84.

UPTON CRESSETT.

RICHARD CRESSETT, ESQ., AND WIFE JANE, 1640.

A quadrangular plate measuring 23 by 20½ inches. In the centre are the effigies of Richard Cressett and his wife Jane kneeling at a prayer desk on which lie open books. Richard Cressett wears a doublet with square turned-back collar, trunk hose, high boots and long cloak. Two sons in similar costume kneel behind him. His wife wears a close-fitting hood with lace edging, a gown with large turned-back collar also edged with lace, the sleeves puffed at the shoulders, slashed on the fore arms and terminating in short lace-edged cuffs. Three daughters in similar attire kneel behind their mother. All kneel on cushions on a chess-board pattern floor and are enclosed by a flat-topped arch, from the centre of which hangs a

shield bearing the arms of CRESSETT—*az., a cross engrailed within a bordure also engrailed or*—impaling HUXLEY of Edmonton—*erm., on a bend cotised gu. three crescents or.*

Below is an inscription in Roman capitals :

P. M. S.

REQVIESCIT SVB HOC CESPITE DEPOSITVM Janæ cressett
Richardo cressett. ARMIGERO MARITATÆ Georgio Huxley
ET Catharinæ VXORI DE Wyrehall IN PARETIÆ EDMVNTON
AGRI MIDDLESEXESII (SED ILLE Cestria ORIVNDO) PROG-
NATÆ. QVÆ POST DUODECENNIVM CONIVGIALE OCTONAQ
PVERPERIA SVPERSTITIBVS QVINQ LIBERIS ROBERTO ET RICH-
ARDO MASCVLIS, Catharina Elizabetha ET Alisia FÆMELLIS.
REBVS HYMANIS EXCEDENS PLACIDE OBDORMIVIT.

DIE VII BRIS VI AN̄O DN̄I MDCXL ÆTATIS XXIX	{	Ne quod MNEMOSYNVM desit marmorq; dolorq; Coniugis æterno NECTARE Nomen asunt Pignoraq; ingeniis et matrissantia formis Tot stant Historiæ tot Monumenta tibi.
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R. GRIGS SCVLPSIT.

This seems to be the only plate in the county upon which a maker's name appears. Instances of the maker's or engraver's names are scarce. Two inscriptions dated 1654 and 1656 at Darley, Derbyshire, were made by "Robert Thorpe in Sheffield the carver"; an inscription dated 1629 at Nunkeeling, East Yorkshire, ends "Gab. Hornbie Sculp."; at Rudston and Lowthorpe, both in the same Riding, are inscriptions bearing "Tho. Mann Eboraci sculp." They are dated 1665 and 1677. Another inscription at Ormskirk, Lancashire, 1661, reads "Richard Mosok Sculpsitt."

The Cressett brass is on the wall of a chapel on the south side of the chancel. This chapel is said to have been a mortuary chapel belonging to the Cressett family, but is now used as a vestry.

Richard Cressett, Esq., married Jane, a daughter of George and Catherine Huxley, of Edmonton, Middlesex.

She died on the 6th of September, 1640, aged 29, leaving issue two sons, Robert and Richard, and three daughters, Catherine, Elizabeth and Alice.

WENLOCK, MUCH.

RICHARD RIDLEY, 1592, AND WIFE ELEANOR.

Small effigies kneeling on cushions at a table whereupon lie open books. Richard Ridley wears the usual civilian dress of the period. His wife has the "Paris hede," ruff and overgown.

Below is a black letter inscription in ten lines.

Neer unto this place lyeth buried the body of Richard Ridley, sonne
And heyre of Raynold Rydley of Lynley Gent' z of Alice Neighton
his

Wife, fyrste maryed to Thomas Mownsloe of Caughley GENT,
by whome she had

Issue one sonne z b daughters. The sayd Richard libed in good
name z

Report z was thwyse Bayly of this towne of Wenlock z ye fran-
chises

thereof. He maryed Eleanor Daughter of John Sydenham of
Chilworthpy in

Co. Somerset z had no Issue. He departed out of this transitory
lyfe the iiii

of January 1592 z the sayd Eleanor his wyfe surbiving him caused
this

Monument to be sett up for a perpetuall token of her singular z
obedient

loue toward hī

Above the figures are three shields of arms:

Dexter—*Arg. on a mound vert a bull statant gu., armed or.* RIDLEY of Lynley.

Centre—RIDLEY impaling SYDENHAM as in the sinister shield.

Sinister—Quarterly of six—I and VI. *Arg., three rams passant 2 and 1, sa.* SYDENHAM, of Combe, co. Somerset.

II. *arg., a bend fusilly sa.* KITSFORD. III. *arg., a cross engrailed gu., in the dexter-chief a mullet.* IV. *Barry of*

six erm. and gu. V. sa., a bend or between six fountains ppr. STOURTON.

The effigies are $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and the size of the whole composition is 19 by 20 inches. It is on the north wall of the chancel.

Richard Ridley, son and heir of Raynold Ridley, of Lynley, by his wife Alice Leighton, widow of Thomas Mownsloe of Caughley, by whom she had one son and five daughters, was twice Bayley of Wenlock and married Eleanor, daughter of John Sydenham, of Chilworthy, Somersetshire, by whom he had no issue. He died 3rd January, 1592, and his widow erected the monument to his memory.

II.

ROBERT THORNE, 1645.

Inscription and three shields of arms on a small quadrangular plate on the north wall of the chancel.

NERE VNTO THIS SCVLPTVRE LYETH INTERRED YE BODY
OF ROBERT THORNE GENT. LATE OF SPONHILL WHO
SEVERALL TYMES WITH PRVDENCE FIDELITY AND JYSTICE
DISCHARGED THE OFFICE OF BAYLIFFE IN THIS ANCIENT
CORPORATION OF WENLOCK HE LIVED A LOYAL SVBJECT
TO HIS KINGE A LOVING SERVANT TO HIS COVNTRY AND
IN ALL ENDEAVOVRS MANIFESTED HIMSELF A TRVE HO-
NOVRER OF THE NOBLE FAMILY OF THE LAWLEYS THVS
HE LIVED THEN DIED THE 18 DAY OF MARCH AO 1645
AGED 70 YEARES FOR WHOSE PIOVS MEMORIE HIS MOVRN-
FULL KINSMAN EDWARD THORNE HATH FOR SVRVIVING
AGES LEFT THIS TESTIMONY OF HIS LOVE AND GRIEFE

Arms on the dexter and sinister *three
lozenges in fesse* THORNE.

In the centre—THORNE impaling *a chevron
between three leopard's faces*

WHITCHURCH.

I.

MATTHEW FOWLER, M.B., 1677.

Inscription with shield of arms, crest, helmet and mantling. The whole enclosed in an ornamented border. In the upper part are a candlestick, hour-glass and skull and crossbones.

Size of plate 24 by $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

M. S.

MATTHÆI FOWLER GEN^{ti}: ET IN MED:
 BACC: QVI LVTETLE PARISIORVM VARIOLIS EXTINGT^{us},
 PEREGRINATIONI SVÆ MVNDANÆ FINEM POSVIT ET IN
 CÆLESTI PATRIA SEDEM FIXIT PERPETVAM VLTIMO
 DIE JANVARIJ A.D. 1677⁸ ANNO ÆTATIS SVÆ 24^{to}
 OPTIMÆ SPEI JUVENIS, CORPORE FORMOSVS:
 DOTIBUS ANIMÆ INSIGNIOR, PIETATIS ERGA:
 DEVM, ET PARENTES, VERACITATIS, PRUDENTIÆ,
 CASTITATIS, COMITATIS, MORUM DENIQ; BONORVM
 OMNIVM LAVDABILE EXEMPLAR, EXTERIS ET
 IGNOTIS GRATVS, AMICIS CARVS, PARENTVM DVM
 VIXIT SOLATIVM NON MEDIOCRE ET POST
 MORTEM LVCTVS EXTREMVS;

*Qui Filia Unica hac Quale eumqz Monumentum, ne
 Inutilia Uixisse Videatur, Maesti Posuerunt.*

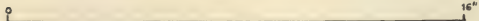
Arms:—Az., on a chevron arg. between three lions passant guardant or, as many crosses pattée sa., a mullet in chief for difference. FOWLER.

Crest:—An owl arg., ducally gorged or.

Mural. North Aisle.



Hic iacet Joanes onley filius et heres dñi roberti onley
 militis civitatis comenrie qui obiit xre die mensis Januarii dñi
 millesimo cccc et octoginta et tri quo- rati pncipaliter



JOHN ONLEY AND WIFE JOAN.

1512.

WITHINGTON, SALOP.

II.

JAMES EGERTON, 1735.

Inscription with skull and crossbones. Size of plate
13 by 9 inches.

*Here lyeth the Body of
James Egerton son of the Hon^{ble}
And Right Rever^d Henry Lord
Bishop of Hereford and the
Right Hon^{ble} Elizabeth his Wife
Who Departed this life
The 6th of Aug^t., 1735
In the 4th year of his age.*

Chancel.

 WITHINGTON.

JOHN ONLEY, 1512, AND WIFE JOAN.

John Onley, son and heir of Sir Robert Onley, of the town of Coventry, is represented bare-headed with long hair, his armour consists of a plate gorget, a breast-plate strengthened with demi-placcates, pauldrons of a curious shape, small coutes, gauntlets with shell backs and peaked cuffs, short skirt of taces with mail fringe, over which are strapped the tuiles, large knee pieces with plates behind, jambs and round-toed sabbatons with rowel spurs. The sword is suspended diagonally in front of the body from a narrow belt once inlaid with colour. There is no misericorde. The left arm of the figure is broken away.

His wife Joan is represented slightly turned to the right, she wears the kennel-shaped head-dress with plain lappets, a close-fitting overgown cut square at the neck, showing the finely plaited partlet and undergown below, the cuffs are large and edged with fur, whilst the long skirt is gathered up under the left arm.

Below the figures is a three-line black letter inscription :

Hic iacet Johes onley filius et heres dñi roberti onley
milit^o civitat^o cobente qui obiit XXX^{mo} die mens^o Junii A^o dñi
millmo CCCCXXII et iohna ux^o ei^o quor^o aiabz ppicie^o de' ac

Below the inscription there were on the original slab a group of seven sons in civil dress under the father (these still remain); and under the mother the indent of a group of three or four daughters (the latter were lost before 1795).



ARMS OF THE TOWN OF COVENTRY.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

At the four corners of the slab were originally shields of arms (the upper dexter was lost before 1795); the upper sinister (now placed under the brass of Adam Graffton) bears—

Quarterly I. and IV. *or, three piles gu., on a canton of the second a pierced mullet of the first.* ONLEY. II and III. . . . *three stirrups 2 and 1.* . . . The lower dexter bears the arms of the TOWN OF COVENTRY—*Per pale gu. and vert an elephant, on his back a tower triple towered*



be hatched by the hand of Adam Graffton the most worshipfull arch-
 bishop of York in his days curiame chaple was to the famous ymages king
 Edward the 3^d & prince Arthur archidecon of Staff warder of the better
 field drave of leint caron Telle ne yu alowd yvon of thys church.
 which deceased in xxviii day of july a dñi m^o cccc^o xxxi whos soul rest

0 ————— 21"

ADAM GRAFFTON.

1530.

WITHINGTON, SALOP

or. The lower sinister (now lost) bore—. . . a bend between six birds.

In the British Museum (Add. MSS. 21, 236, fol. 109) is a sketch of this brass taken June 6, 1794, showing it in its original slab then in the nave. Some years ago the church was rebuilt, the brass taken from its slab; this disappeared and the brass itself was for some time in the custody of a neighbouring rector. It is now nailed on the north wall of the tower in a somewhat irregular fashion.

The figures are $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.

This brass possesses considerable interest in that it is the work of a "local" or Warwickshire school of engravers, most probably settled in the town of Coventry. Compare the figure at Harley.

II.

ADAM GRAFFTON, PARSON, 1530.

Full-length effigy in cassock, surplice, almuce and cope.

Black-letter inscription in five lines:—

Here lyeth buried Master Adam Graffton the most worshipfull
prest
lyvynng in hys days sumtyme chapleyne to the ffamobus princys kynge
Edward the Vth & prynce Arthure archedecon of staff^e Warden of
the battell
ffield Deane of seynt Mary College In Salop & pson of thys
Churche
whych deceassyd y^e xxviij day of Juli A^o dni M^o CCCC whos soul
god r(est)

A shield of arms belonging to the Onley brass is now inaccurately fixed below this inscription.

The figure measures $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and formerly lay in the nave, it is now fastened to the south wall of the tower. The original stone is lost.

Master Adam Graffton, LL.B., was not only "the most worshipful prest lyving in his days" but also warden of Battlefield College, to which post he was admitted 17 November, 1478; chaplain to Edward V. and Prince

Arthur ; vicar of St. Alkmund's Shrewsbury, 1473-1489 ; rector of Upton with Withington, 1494 ; canon of St. Chad's 1494 ; prebendary of Lichfield, 1497 ; archdeacon of Salop, 1504-1514 ; archdeacon of Stafford and dean of St. Mary's Salop. He erected or completed the tower of Battlefield church in 1503. See *Battlefield Church, by the Rev. W. G. Dimock Fletcher, F.S.A.*

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BRASSES WITH EFFIGIES.

- c. 1370. BURFORD. Dame Elizabeth Cornewaylle.
- 1382. ACTON BURNELL. Sir Nicholas Burnell.
- c. 1390. ADDERLEY. An ecclesiastic (abbot or bishop).
- 1467. TONG. Sir William Vernon and wife Margaret.
- c. 1475. HARLEY. A man in armour and wife.
- c. 1495. IGHTFIELD. Dame Margery Calvey.
- 1497. IGHTFIELD. William Maynwaryng.
- 1510. TONG. Ralph Elcok, priest.
- 1512. WITHINGTON. John Onley and wife Joan.
- 1517. TONG. Sir Arthur Vernon, M.A., priest.
- 1530. WITHINGTON. Adam Grafton, priest.
- 1533. EDMOND. Francis Yonge and wife Anne.
- 1560. ADDERLEY. Sir Robert Nedeham and wife Agnes.
- 1564. MIDDLE. Arthur Chambré and wife Margaret.
- 1571. ACTON SCOTT. Thomas Mytton and wife Elisabeth.
- c. 1580. DRAYTON. Rowland Corbet.
- 1592. MUCH WENLOCK. Richard Ridley and wife Eleanor.
- 1599. GLAZELEY. Thomas Wylde and wife Elizabeth.
- 1616. ALVELEY. John Grove.
- 1640. UPTON CRESSETT. Richard Cressett and wife Jane.
- 1653. CLUN. Sir Robert Howard, K.B. (inscription with devices).

LIST OF BRASSES ACCORDING TO COSTUME.

ARMED FIGURES:—

(a) alone :

ACTON BURNELL, Sir Nicholas Burnell, 1382.

(b) with ladies :

TONG. Sir William Vernon and wife Margaret, 1467.

HARLEY. A man in armour and wife, c. 1475.

WITHINGTON. John Onley and wife Joan, 1512.

ADDERLEY. Sir Robert Nedeham and wife Agnes, 1560.

CIVILIANS :

(a) alone :

IGHTFIELD. William Maynwaryng, 1497.

DRAYTON. Rowland Corbet, c. 1580.

ALVELEY. John Grove, 1616.

(b) with ladies :

MIDDLE. Arthur Chambre and wife Margaret, 1564.

ACTON SCOTT. Thomas Mytton and wife Elsabeth, 1571.

MUCH WENLOCK. Richard Ridley and wife Elianor, 1592.

GLAZELEY. Thomas Wylde and wife Elizabeth, 1599.

UPTON CRESSETT. Richard Cressett and wife Jane, 1640

ECCLESIASTICS :

ADDERLEY. An abbot or bishop, c. 1390.

TONG. Ralph Elcok, 1510.

Sir Arthur Vernon, M.A., 1517.

WITHINGTON. Adam Graffton, 1530.

LADIES :

BURFORD. Dame Elizabeth Cornewaylle, c. 1370.

IGHTFIELD. Dame Margery Calveley, c. 1495.

MISCELLANEOUS :

EDGMOND. Francis Yonge (in shroud) and wife Anne, 1533

CLUN. Sir Robert Howard, K.B., 1653 (inscription with devices).

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

EARLY LONDON THEATRES (In the fields). By T. FAIRMAN ORDISH, F.S.A.
With Illustrations and Maps. The Camden Library. Svo. 1894. (Stock.)

The subject of this volume, the origin and building of the earliest London playhouses, is of interest in itself, and also as helping to mark the changes which have taken place in the "fields." The first house named "The Theatre," seems to have been built about 1576, followed closely by "The Curtain," both being round in form, and built of wood. They were necessarily or compulsorily outside the City bounds, the spot chosen being very wisely the "fields" to the north, then the play-ground and shooting-ground of the citizens. Before this, plays were performed in the inn yards and other open places, where scaffolds or stages were erected for the purpose. For a long time, however, "tumblers and such like," were considered "a very superfluous sort of men," and war raged against them. Complaints were frequent, too, of disorders arising, and especially that the people were drawn from honest exercises, to see or listen to unchaste plays. Other houses were built on the Surrey side of the river, still beyond the control of the city. Here was the celebrated "Globe Theatre," and the gardens for bull and bear baiting, all well placed on the great southern road in the midst of hostelrys and bustle. Their history and fate are here closely worked out.

A curious effort of the players as being "vagabonds" to get some sort of status, is seen in their plan of adopting an occupation, possibly however sometimes true enough. Thus Ben Jonson is described as a bricklayer, and James Burbage as a joiner. In the mention of Ben Jonson we get a good notice of "benefit of clergy," for Ben having to be tried for murder, asked for "the book," to read his "neck verse." Having thus proved himself a scholar he was saved. Later, in his play of "Bartholomew Fair," he makes one say,—*"I am no clerk, I scorn to be sav'd by my book, i'faith I'll hang first."* Some allusions seem to point to Shakespeare, but as usual, they are very slight, although his plays were being acted at the time. Thus Robert Greene apparently in a fit of jealousy, writes of "an upstart crow, who supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blank verse as the best, in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country." A German traveller in England in 1598, has left an account of these theatres, the excellent music, variety of dances, and excessive applause. He also saw the bull and bear baiting, adding the most interesting record that at these spectacles, and everywhere else the English are constantly smoking tobacco. One other remark shows how long custom may continue, for he writes—*"apples, pears, and nuts, according to season are carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine."* But after all, the interest in the theatre is not in the building nor in the "lewd matters handled," in association and apparently inseparable

from it, but in the literature which it gives us, and leaves us. Thus in these times we have mention of Marlowe, Greene, Ben Jonson, Nash, Peele and Shakespeare; and also of Richard Tarlton, who is described as having "a wondrous plentiful pleasant extemporall witt." The author has been often indebted to the work of others, which he honourably acknowledges, but clearly he has spared no labour in his endeavour to make his information as full and complete as possible. The illustrations are good and extremely interesting as showing the plans of these early structures.

THE FRIEND OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY. Being selections from the works in verse and prose of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. Made by ALEXANDER GROSART. Elliot Stock, 1894. Elizabethan Library.

The examples here given by Mr. Grosart both in prose and verse are well worthy of the selection. Lord Brooke, a man of intellect and knowledge, does not through his writings readily appeal to the general reader, the, to us, rigid, apparently unsympathetic style of his time being somewhat involved and requiring attention to realize. To quote the first heading they are art sayings and maxims in picked and packed words. The great affection for Queen Elizabeth is always to be noted in the writers of her time. Here she is "that matchless sovereign of mine who preserved her religion without wavering and kept both her martial and civil government entire." As gathered from the works of a man of fine character and understanding, neither works nor man being too familiar to modern readers, these selections and choice quotations will be most welcome and in this epitomised form may well be expected to bring the author to the notice he deserves.

DEANERY OF BICESTER. Part VIII. History of Ardley, Bucknell, Caversfield, and Stoke Lyne. By J. C. BLOMFIELD, M.A., Rural Dean. Elliot Stock. 4to. 1894.

We are always pleased to meet with local work of this sort especially when as here it is carefully and conscientiously done. The four parishes mentioned are treated separately and have also a separate pagination. Every point of interest starting from the origin of the name, seems to be noted, and the parish or church books have been laid under contribution for matter often overlooked but always of marked interest. The number of acres now under cultivation and the various crops are also given and this may presently be useful for comparison if changes occur. In the history of Stoke Lyne a curious means of ruin is recorded, where one Christopher Pettie, being much addicted to bell ringing, showed his tendency to extravagance by using a set of silken ropes, and being accompanied also by a set of idle fellows he managed to ring away a good estate. We wish the author every encouragement and success with his work.

A SYSTEM OF MEASURES OF LENGTH, AREA, BULK, WEIGHT, VALUE, FORCE, ETC. By WORDSWORTH DONISTHORPE. Spottiswoode and Co. 4to. 1895.

Mr. Donisthorpe has here produced an exceedingly clever book, very full of most interesting questions, which he endeavours to answer or explain. The labour involved in producing the work must

have been heavy. The various systems now in use are examined and exposed, the intention or hope that a decimal uniformity may ensue. The English, French, Greek, and Roman systems are all considered, showing to what extent we are indebted to the last. The defects in the French plan are pointed out especially in its nomenclature, a point which every one must have felt, such unwieldy names being an ever constant source of confusion. The inconsistencies in measures of area and of length are fully examined. The furlong or farrow long, was as much as an ox plough could do "at a burst" and this being found to be forty times the length of the plough pole, forty poles thus made a furlong. The original system of length being based on the yard, there is some speculation as to the origin of this measure, one being that it was taken from the length of Henry I's arm. Noting the confusion the question is asked, why should a mile of ground be 265 yards shorter than a mile of water; and why should we still be taught that three barley corns make an inch, when such is not the fact. In measuring a yard the custom of including the thumb, through subtlety, was met by an Act of Queen Ann which actually made the yard 37 inches. The measure of bulk was based on a cylinder one yard high and one yard in diameter, hence called a pipe. Passing on through this dismal wilderness of measures, the different weights and differing systems are next noted and attacked, the whole when thus gathered being most extraordinary, a chaotic jumble, an intolerable tangle of scales. Then comes the question of the coinage with a suggested system for the future. To this the author has evidently given much attention. Our poor, not too familiar, sovereign, and our other coins are to pass away to give place to new ones with such strange names as a lion, a cross, a groat, a doit; the weight, breadth, and thickness of these being given. Bimetallism is also noticed but not with approval as now demanded, yet it is well and fairly asked, what law is there to prevent a cotton man from making his contracts based on payment in silver, or even copper. As a fact any trader can use silver as his money medium without waiting for legislation. In this matter, legislation, in haste, would certainly bring hasty repentance. An appendix giving the names of English measures as gathered from old Parliamentary Reports is not the least interesting part of this book. It gives many names not generally known and also the differences in different places in the use of the same measure, thus there are nineteen different usages for the peck, there are also curious differences in the barrel according to the district, or the article sold. The volume ends with a draft act ready for use. To notice fully this interesting volume is impossible in our space, we can only say the subjects are treated with ability, and as a book to be read and as a book of reference we can well recommend it.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY. Being a classified collection of the chief contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. ENGLISH TOPOGRAPHY, Part V. (Hampshire—Huntingdonshire). Edited by F. A. MILNE, M.A. Elliot Stock. 8vo. 1894.

This volume fully carries out its title heading and shows the same care and attention as the previous ones. Every issue of this series

must be acceptable everywhere. The counties dealt with are Hampshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, and Huntingdonshire. Of these Hampshire, as would be expected, has the largest space; and just as but little is heard of it to-day, it is curious to see how little is noted from Huntingdon. The information collected is of the usual miscellaneous character, all of it interesting and much very curious. Mr. Gomme, in his preface, makes a good suggestion, viz., that each county archæological society should make a list of the family portraits within its limits, giving a birth and death date, and the artist's name. Such a list is here given from Hinchinbroke, occupying nearly four pages. There are two excellent indexes, one of personal names, the other of subjects, including the place names.

FACTS ABOUT POMPEII. Its Masons' Marks, Town Walls, Houses and Portraits. With a complete List of all the Masons' Marks cut in the Stones. By H. P. FITZGERALD MARRIOTT. 4to. London. Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd.

This book comes as a welcome addition to the scanty list of works by Englishmen on the remains of the ever interesting Campanian city. For the most part the contents of that list are guide books, more or less well written. It is matter for reproach that England has done so little, while other countries have done so much, towards the illustration of the life of antiquity as shown in the ruins of Pompeii. It seems almost as if the study of the remains of the buried city is not regarded as a serious one in this country. To turn over the leaves of a guide book as a preparation for a visit of a few hours, or at most of a couple of days to Pompeii, is all that the usual visitor from our country is inclined to do; and as for most of our architects and antiquaries, the flood of mediævalism which has submerged us for so long appears to have drowned effectually all desire, if ever such desire existed, to study any remains whatever of classical antiquity.

We cannot help thinking that this book, in which there is good work, is somewhat defective in arrangement. Anything that hints of the guide book would have been better eliminated; and it would surely have been preferable to treat of the various subjects it contains, in separate chapters, or as separate essays, by which means the author would have been better able to bring many interesting facts before his readers than by his present method. Mr. Marriott commences with an account of the mason's marks to be found for the most part on the stones of the earlier structures of the city, and then passes on to speak of the portraits which, painted upon the walls, occur as centres of the panelled decoration of various houses in the town. Here, at once, is a branch of study which repays careful investigation and illustration. The type of face in the portraits, from whatever race derived (though scarcely of Egyptian origin as Mr. Marriott supposes) is much the same as that to be found in the present inhabitants of the district surrounding Pompeii; and that same type is to be seen even in some of the mythological subjects, (although the author excepts these) showing that the Pompeian painters copied from the life they saw around them.

Perhaps the most attractive part of the book is that concerned with

the mural decorations, generally, the notes being based on Professor Mau's classification of these paintings into four styles of different dates. The so-called Egyptian variety of the third style is the most peculiar of these. The character of the detail in this variety should rather be called Græco-Egyptian than Egyptian, and if, as it is believed, Pompeii had early commercial intercourse with Alexandria, the style was possibly imported from thence. The little panel subjects, of somewhat later date, which are to be found in the wall decoration of various houses, representing scenes in the valley of the Nile, bore the same relation to Egyptian art that the "chinoiserie" of the time of Louis XV of France bore to the art of the Celestial Empire. This Græco-Egyptian fashion of wall decoration probably came into vogue with the establishment of the worship of Isis in Pompeii.

It is a commonly received idea that most of the houses in Pompeii are all built on one invariable plan. Nothing can be more erroneous. The idea arises from the fact that visitors to the ruins see only a small number of the larger mansions which are mostly of the same size and type. To the student nothing can exceed in interest the study of the plans of the smaller houses, more especially those in which the atrium, with some chambers attached to it, constitute the entire dwelling.

In speaking of the *balneæ* of the larger mansions, and it is only some of the larger mansions which possess these adjuncts, Mr. Marriott appears to have fallen into an error in his account of the baths in the *Casa del Centenario*. Here (p. 53), the *calidarium* (hot water bath room), is mentioned as a *laconicum*, which is properly a *sudatorium*, not containing a hot water bath. The traces of the bath are, however, visible enough in the chamber in question, together with the means, in an adjoining kitchen, for heating the water to fill it. In the *calidaria* of the larger mansions the bath itself is usually destroyed, although traces remain to indicate its position.

We find, also, that although the black and white tessellated floors of the houses are referred to, the large class, composed of *opus signinum* is left unmentioned, or it may be possibly referred to as of cement. These floors of *opus signinum*, a composition of lime, volcanic grit and broken tile, are more common than those constructed of *tesserae*, and have a marked character of their own. In many pavements this composition is used as a ground in which are set lines of white marble *tesserae*, forming occasionally delicate geometrical diapers. In others, fragments of coloured marbles and alabasters, the waste pieces from marble mason's workshops, or fragments from broken up floors, are encrusted irregularly, with charming effect.

The division of the book named "Notes on a few Houses," would have been greatly improved by the insertion of plans, however small or slight, in order to render the descriptions more intelligible. This want is more particularly felt with reference to the houses called by Mr. Marriott "cliff houses," *i.e.*, the houses built against the abrupt sides of the bed of lava on which Pompeii stands. Views are given of these houses, but a through section would have been preferable and more explanatory. The same may be said, though in a lesser degree, with respect to the illustrations to the notes on the towers which occur on the city wall. The illustrations to the portion of the book referring

to the portraits and to the mural paintings are all that can be desired.

One further remark may be worth making.

Fiorelli in his "*Descrizione di Pompei*," speaking of the early excavations on the site of the buried city, says, that the sole aim of the explorers of those times was the recovery of as large a quantity of objects of antiquity as possible. Nothing else was thought worthy of attention. If the note at page 48 of Mr. Marriott's book be correct, something of this same unscientific spirit still haunts the management of the excavations at Pompeii, through it is to be hoped in a very much modified form. Unfortunately, however, this spirit still largely prevails in England, and whenever a Roman building is explored in this country, it is not the remains of the edifice itself which receive attention, but chiefly the objects it may contain (often trivial enough) which are thought worthy of consideration. The consequence is that the proper examination of the building found is neglected. The treasures of some collector are enriched by objects of more or less value, or perhaps, the finds are stowed away in the dusty cases of a local museum. The building itself in the meanwhile, neglected, imperfectly planned, its uses unsought for, becomes a wreck from exposure to the weather, or is buried again after partial destruction, leaving untaught the lesson which might have been learned by a careful study of its remains. This is but too often the method, or want of method, of dealing with Roman remains in this country.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 6th, 1895.

VISCOUNT DILLON, M.A., V.P.S.A., (*President*), in the Chair.

Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A., exhibited a seventeenth century mortar of bell metal with a crest on the side lately obtained by him in Sussex.

VISCOUNT DILLON read a paper on "An Elizabethan Armourer's Album," a book of drawings of suits of armour made by Jacobi, the master armourer at Greenwich, for several of the notabilities of that period. The book has recently been purchased by the authorities of the Science and Art Department of the South Kensington Museum, who kindly allowed the MS. to be exhibited. From this book Lord Dillon has been able to identify several pieces of armour now in the Tower collection, and by permission of the Director-General of Artillery there were exhibited various pieces of armour, including the helmets of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., and the Earl of Worcester, the vamplates of Prince Henry and Sir Christopher Hatton, all of which are figured in Jacobi's book. Lord Dillon's paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

A special vote of thanks was passed to authorities of South Kensington Museum for the loan of the MS., and to the Director-General of Artillery for the exhibition of the various pieces of armour.

Mr. MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A., (*Hon. Sec.*), exhibited, by permission of the Rev. J. Cooper Wood, the original brass figure and inscription of "the good" William Maynwaryng, 1497, formerly in Ightfield church, Shropshire. This brass disappeared at the restoration of the church some years ago, but has fortunately been recovered by Mr. Wood and is about to be replaced. For a full description with illustration, see Mr. Stephenson's paper on "Shropshire Brasses" printed at p. 47, of this *Journal*.

March 6th, 1895.

E. GREEN, F.S.A., (*Hon. Director*), in the Chair.

Mr. TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "An old Watch and its Maker." The watch, which was exhibited, was given to Mr. Ely's great grand-mother about the year 1751. It is an English double cased gold verge watch, with an extra case of tortoise shell for ordinary wear. The outer gold case is covered with *repoussé* work, well executed, in the style of Louis Quinze. The subject is classical (probably the story of Cupid and Psyche), with a border of scroll

work and flowers. The artist's name—H. Manly—is found on similar work elsewhere, especially in connection with watches by Dutch makers. Nothing is known about Manly by the officials of the Goldsmiths Company, nor is anything known of the maker of the inner case, whose initials are J. B. The date appears to be 1751, although there is some doubt on this point. The works were made by John Ellicot of London, the King's watchmaker, who became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1738 and died in 1772. He contributed various papers to the *Philosophical Transactions* and invented an improved pyrometer to measure extension and contraction of substances by heat; he also invented a compensation pendulum. His portrait by Dance, is in the possession of his descendant, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. For the London Institution he made a clock with his compensation pendulum; this clock loses only one second a week. Another of his clocks is still in use at the London Hospital.

Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Notes on Huntington Shaw, blacksmith, his reputed work, his tomb formerly at Hampton, Middlesex, and iron work from the railings of the same."

In illustration of his paper Mr. Rice exhibited some wrought-iron interlaced initials from the railing of the tomb of Huntington Shaw, blacksmith, the reputed maker of the ornamental ironwork at Hampton Court Palace. After proving the authenticity of the ironwork exhibited, and tracing its history from the destruction of the tomb when Hampton Church was rebuilt in 1830, he gave some biographical details relating to Shaw and Mary his wife.

Shaw was baptised at St. Peter's, Nottingham, July 8th, 1660, and although called of that town on his monument now in Hampton Church, Mr. Rice discovered that for ten years previously to his death, which occurred on October 20th, 1710, when aged 51 years, that he was a ratepayer in the parish of St. James, Westminster, and from entries in the rate-books and from old maps it was evident that his premises occupied the site of what is now No. 17, Air Street, Regent Street; the northern part of Air Street was then called Frances Street. Mr. Rice gave abstracts of the wills of Shaw and his widow, and reviewed the question whether Shaw did or did not produce the ironwork made in the seventeenth century for Hampton Court Palace, and after quoting from Mr. E. Law's history of that building, showing that the writer had proved from documentary and other evidence that the ironwork in question was "designed" by Jean Tijou, a French blacksmith, but that the workmanship was probably Shaw's, he dealt with the monumental inscription on the tablet now in Hampton Church. This tablet was a portion of the large memorial that was fixed to the south wall on the outside of the old church. The inscription now on it terminates with the words "he designed and executed the ornamental ironwork at Hampton Court Palace," and Mr. Rice quoted Lysons, showing that, in his account of the tomb printed in 1800, he does not mention this important statement, which has been the authority for crediting Shaw with the work, although that writer quoted the words which now precede it, viz.: "He was an Artist in His way." After pointing out, by means of a rubbing of the inscription, the difference in the spacing and lettering of the words, in what is now the final sentence, when

compared with the rest of the inscription, Mr. Rice submitted that the evidence was conclusive that the memorial did not bear any such statement until about 1830, when it was removed into the new church viz., one hundred and twenty years after Shaw's death. Consequently as evidence, it was worthless and in the entire absence of any other record assigning the work to Shaw, the undivided honour of having "*designed and executed*" it properly belonged to Jean Tijou.

Messrs. E. LAW, CHALLENGOR SMITH, PALEY BAILDON and E. GREEN took part in the discussion which followed. The general opinion was that the words in dispute had been subsequently added.



SIR HENRY LEE.

From Jacobe MS. fol. XIV.

AN ELIZABETHAN ARMOURER'S ALBUM.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, F.S.A.

The MS. now exhibited, 17 in. by 11½ in., appears to have been the work of Jacobe, the master armourer at Greenwich, during part of Elizabeth's reign, and mentioned by Sir Henry Lee, the Master of the Armoury, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated October 12th, 1590.¹ It contains drawings 17 in. high, in ink and water-colour of twenty-nine suits of armour, and extra pieces for the same.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Earle of Rutlande. | 16. The Earle of Penbroucke. |
| 2. The Earle of Bedforde. | 17. Ser Cristofer Hattone. |
| 3. The Earle of Lesseter. | 18. Ser Johne Smithe. |
| 4. The Earle of Sussex. | 19. S ^r Henry Lee, M ^r of tharmerie. |
| 5. Duke, John of fineland, Prince of Sweden. | 20. The Earle of Cumberlande. |
| 6. Ser William Sentlo. | 21. S ^r Cristopher Hatton. |
| 7. My Lorde Skrope. | 22. Mr. Macke Williams. |
| 8. The Earle of Lesseter. | 23. My L Chancellor. |
| 9. My Lorde of Hunsdon. | 24. My L Cobbom. |
| 10. Ser Gorge Howarde. | 25. S ^r Harry Lea, M ^r of the Armore. |
| 11. My Lorde Northe. | 26. My Lorde Cumpton. |
| 12. The Duck of Norfocke. | 27. Mr. Skidmur. |
| 13. The Earle of Woster. | 28. My Lorde Bucarte. |
| 14. Ser Henry Lee. | 29. S ^r Bale Desena. |
| 15. Sur Cristofer Hattone. | |

Without enumerating all the offices and honours enjoyed by these persons, a concise note of their military services may be of interest.

1. Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland, K.G., served in Scotland in 1548, was General of Horse at St. Quentin, 1557, Lord President of the North, 1559, and died 1563. 2. John Russell, Earl of Bedford, K.G., was knighted at Morlaix, 1522, present at the Battle of Pavia, 1525, served in France, 1544, he died 1564. 3. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, K.G., was at the Battle of St. Quentin, 1557, and commanded in the Low Countries, 1585. He died 1588. 4. Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex, K.G., twice Lord Deputy of Ireland. Served in the north

¹ Printed in *Archæologia*, vol. 51, p. 167.

against the rebels in 1569, and in Scotland 1570. He died 1583. 5. John, Duke of Finland, visited England in 1560, to promote a marriage between Elizabeth and his brother Eric. 6. Sir William Sentlo is mentioned in 1554 as a servant of the Lady Elizabeth. 7. Henry, Lord Scroope, K.G., served in Scotland 1560, and against the rebels in 1569. He died 1592. 9. Henry, Lord Hunsdon, K.G., served against the rebels in 1569, and in Scotland in 1570. He died 1596. 10. Sir George Howard served in France in 1551, in Scotland 1560, was Master of the Armoury in 1562. 11. Richard, Lord North, served with Leicester in the Low Countries, where he was made a banneret. He died 1600. 12. Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, K.G., served against Wyatt in 1554, beheaded 1572. 13. William, Earl of Worcester, in his youth was said to be the best tilter and horseman of his day. He died 1589. 14. Sir Henry Lee, K.G., served on the borders of Scotland, 1558, at the siege of Edinburgh 1573, was Master of the Armoury, 1580, and died 1611. 15. Sir Christopher Hatton, was captain of the Guard 1572, and Lord Chancellor 1587, and died 1591. 16. William, Earl of Pembroke, K.G., commanded the English troops at St. Quentin, 1557, served against Wyatt 1554, and died 1569. 18. Sir John Smith, cousin-german to Edward VI., was a great soldier, and author of several military works. He died 1607. 20. George, Earl of Cumberland, K.G., fitted out eleven expeditions against the Spaniards, and captured St. Helena. He died 1605. 22. Mr. MacWilliams is described in 1569, by the Earl of Warwick, as "a toward young gentleman." 23. Sir Thomas Bromley became Lord Chancellor on the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1579, and was succeeded by Sir C. Hatton in 1587. 24. William, Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, died 1596. 26. Henry, Lord Compton, knighted by Leicester, 1566, died 1589. 27. John Scudamore, gentleman usher to Elizabeth. Scudamore is a character in the *Faerie Queen*. 28. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, K.G., Treasurer of England, 1599. James I. made him Earl of Dorset, and he died 1608. 29. Sir Bale Desena has not been identified, but a family of that name was seated at Liège.

These suits were made for twenty-four different persons, of whom all with the exception of John, Duke of Finland, and Sir Bale Desena were English noblemen, captains or knights, who took part in the jousts and tournaments of that period. The figures appear to have been drawn from one model, though in some cases the figure is reversed and the sword comes on the wrong side. The wearers are shown with the right hand grasping a mace or truncheon, the lower end of which rests on the right hip, while the other hand grasps the sword hilt.

The ornamentation of the various suits is sufficiently clearly defined to enable identification of certain existing suits or parts of them to be established.

As instances may be mentioned the suit of William, Earl of Pembroke, now at Wilton, and lately exhibited at the Tudor Exhibition. This suit was said to have been worn at the battle of St. Quentin in 1557, when the English forces were commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, and at the New Gallery it stood with the suits of the two illustrious captives of that day, Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, and Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier. Our friend the Baron de Cosson said at the time that the Pembroke belonged to a later period, and its appearance in this MS. justifies the learned baron's assertion. Another suit is that of George, Earl of Cumberland, K.G., now belonging to Lord Hothfield, who lent it with the extra pieces seen in the MS., and now at Appleby Castle, to the Tudor Exhibition. Mr. Guy Laking lately called my attention to the fact that the locking gauntlet ¹ presented to the Armourers' Company in 1768, by one of their body, Mr. Carter, resembled in ornamentation the Helmet 33 of the Tower Collection. This head-piece which was engraved by Grose (1785), when it belonged to Mr. Rawle, I had already identified as belonging to the second of Sir Henry Lee's suits shown in the MS. In the Tower are also to be seen the suit of the Earl of Worcester, with its two head-pieces, and a vamplate of Sir Christopher Hatton's second suit. In the Spitzer Collection of armour, shortly to be sold at Paris,²

¹ See engraving and description of this gauntlet at p. 156 of the Catalogue of Antiquities of Works of Art, exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall.

² This suit was sold on June 12, 1895, for £2,080. The Sussex gauntlets sold for £66 8s.

is a fine suit described as of the time of Henry VIII. This suit with its placcate and buffe and neck-piece I have identified as the first Hatton suit in the MS. It is a remarkably large and fine armour and gives a good idea of the large stature of Elizabeth's chancellor and favourite. In the same collection are two gauntlets wanting the fingers, which belong to the Sussex suit in the MS. under consideration. It is also certain that the suit shown in Skelton's *Meyrick* on plate XXIX, and said to have come from a château in Brie, the possession of the Ducs de Longueville, is also the suit made by Jacobe for Lord Bucarte, who is seen in the MS. with a triple barred face-guard, as shown by Skelton. This suit is now in the Wallace collection at Hertford House.

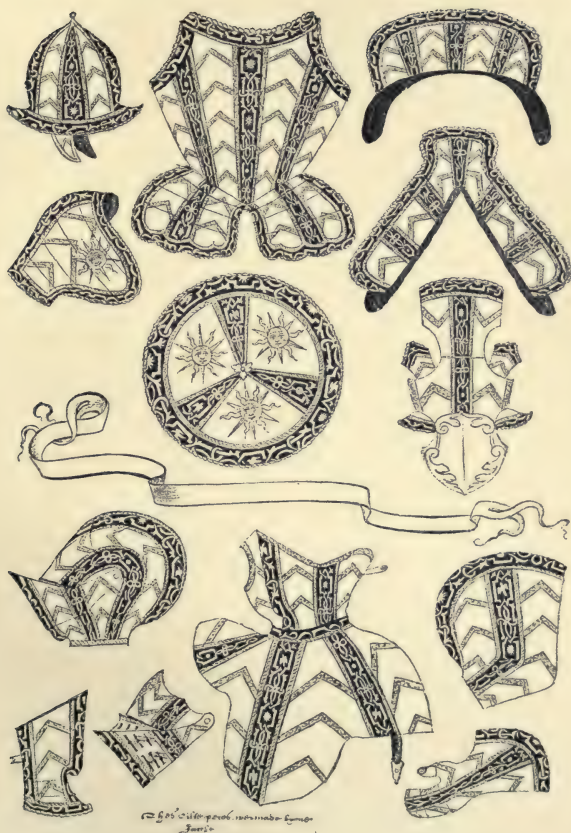
A good number of suits, or portions of suits, seen in the MS. have thus been traced, but it is curious that the Earl of Sussex's burgonet, and Sir Christopher Hatton's vamplate, though all clearly belonging to the suits of the MS. are not there shown. The note attached to Sir Henry Lee's suit as to parts being of foreign make and others the work of Jacobe will probably account for these omissions in the MS.

From the dates of the principal events in the lives of and the deaths of the persons named in the MS. we may judge the armour to be such as was worn between about 1560 and 1590.

These persons I have endeavoured to identify, and I have perhaps done so in most of the cases. They present an assemblage of many of the most famous and brilliant men of Elizabeth's court, and as will be seen in most instances the suits belonged to men who had won their spurs in the field, and were no carpet knights dubbed with unhacked rapier. Many of the suits must have been exceedingly rich and costly, and even if of Innspruck steel or by foreign workmen were except in a few cases not "made in Germany."

The presence of brayettes in almost all the figures, points to the drawings having been done by a foreigner (though we do not at present know anything of Jacobe's nationality), for in Elizabeth's reign that portion of costume whether in civil or military portraits is always omitted.

The suits shown in the complete figures are all of them



SIR HENRY LEE.

From Jacobe MS. fol. XIV.

pretty much alike, save that in fourteen suits the feet are covered with chain mail with metal toe-caps. Sir John Smith has chain mail sleeves and is armed only to the knees, as also are Lord Compton, Skidmur and Sir Bale Desena, boots being worn to cover the lower part of the legs and feet. The other suits have sollerets.

Lords Compton and Bucarte have triple barred burgonets.

Gilt armour appears often among the bequests in wills of the sixteenth century.

Most of these suits have much gilding in the way of borders and enrichment, and though it is difficult to reconstitute the richness of the suits of the same period now in the Tower, yet one can still see in some sheltered parts of the fine Leicester suit there, some traces of its original splendour.

In 1619, James I, made a proclamation against excessive use of gold and silver foliate which was to be confined to armour and ensigns of honour.

The most complete suits are those of Lord Scrope, the first Leicester suit¹ and the suits of Sir H. Lee, Sir C. Hatton, and Lord Pembroke.

The breasts are all of peasecod shape with an articulated lame at the lower part.

The standing buffes are generally with a straight profile. The falling buffes have a slightly curved profile.

The suits of the Earls of Rutland (I) and Bedford (II) and Sir William Sentlo (VI) resemble each other in design, being complete suits with splinted breasts and probably splinted backs, but the Rutland and Sentlo suits are black with yellow borders, and the Bedford suit is white with yellow borders. There is a sexfoil on the elbows and knees of all three suits. The second Hatton (XVII) suit resembles the Lord Chancellor's (XXIII), Lord North's (XI), Mr. Mack Williams (XXII) and the Desena (XXIX) and Skidmur (XXVII) suits, all being white suits with narrow gilt bands. The Cobham (XXIV) and Norfolk (XII) suits are alike, being white with gilt bands having gilt curved labels with pointed ends between them.

¹ It may be noted that the Leicester suit in the Tower is of the years 1566-1588, those being the dates respectively

of his investiture with the Order of St. Michael (engraved on that suit) and of his death.

The suits of Lord Compton (xxvi) and Bucarte (xxviii) are alike, but Lord Compton's is only to the knees while the Bucarte suit is complete. Both suits are coloured russet with black and gilt bands of engraving, Lord Compton also wears a triple barred burgonet. The Earl of Leicester's (iii) first suit is russet, with gilt bands of engraved ornament consisting of circles with five dots in each, the bands being filled up with spandrils. His second (viii) suit is that engraved in Pennant's *London* and differing from that in the Tower of London, though the ragged staff is the chief motive. The muzzled bear is seen on the cheek of the helmet and also on the chanfron.

The Sussex (iv) suit is white with bands of engraved ornament between which are transverse gilt arches alternating with white spaces.

The Scrope (vii) suit is also white with bands of engraved ornament between which are alternate arches of gilding and white.

John, Duke of Finland's (v) suit much resembles Lord Scrope's, but he has on the centre of breast a figure of a bear holding a sword.

Lord Hunsdon (ix) and Sir George Howard (x) have white suits with gilt bands and smaller diagonal bands branching off.

Sir John Smith's (xviii) suit differs from all the other being only to the knees and having chain mail sleeves. In a compartment on the engraved tapul is a figure of Fame.

Of the twenty-nine suits shown in the book, twenty-four belong to twenty-four persons, of whom John, Duke of Finland, and Sir Bale Desena (xxix) were foreigners and consequently not belonging to any band or association of tilters of this country. Besides these twenty-four suits Sir Henry Lee, and Sir Christopher Hatton, have each two more suits, and the Earl of Leicester one more. Sir Henry Lee as Master of the Armoury, might well be expected to have many suits, but Sir Christopher Hatton, though we know him as Lord Chancellor and a dancing man, is not so generally associated with military sports.

Of all the persons whose armour is given, he and the Lord Chancellor (Bromley) were probably the only ones who had not seen some service in the field. It should be



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From Jacobe MS. fol. XXV.

noted that the letters M.R. are placed by the figure of the Earl of Rutland, and the letters E.R. by those of the Earls of Bedford, Leicester, Pembroke, Worcester, John, Duke of Finland, the Duke of Norfolk, Lords Scrope, Hunsdon, North, Sir William Sentlo, Sir George Howard, Sir Christopher Hatton.

Sir Christopher Hatton's (xv) first suit is russet with gold bands, between which are pierced lozenge shaped designs, On the tapul of the breast-plate is a figure of Mercury, and two **E** **3** regardant surmounted by a crown.

His second (xvii) suit is also of white with gilt bands of ornament between which are strings of roses and knots.

The third (xxi) suit is white with narrow gilt bands.

Sir Henry Lee's (xiv) first suit is white with bands of engraved ornament in black and gilt. The sun in splendour, and a bird like a dove also appear among the ornamental designs. Neither a sun nor a dove are found in this knight's arms. On the upper part of the page is written "This feld armor was made beyond see." The second (xix) suit, also of white, has gilt bands of ornament between which are quatrefoil ornaments, and on the upper part of the tapul a bird with wings displayed standing on a granny or Wake and Ormond knot. With the close helmet, standing buffe, extra vizor, grand guard and volant piece, pas guard or elbow piece, and the locking gauntlet, is the note, "Thes Tilte peces wer made by me Jacobe."

The third (xxv) suit, also white, has narrow bands of what seems to be green enamel with small red flowers.

The Earl of Pembroke's (xvi) suit is white with gilt bands of ornaments. The collar and badge of the Garter, are engraved on the tapul and also on each side of the comb of the burgonet.

The Earl of Cumberland's (xx) suit is shown russet with white and gilt bands between which are roses and knots and fleurs-de-lis.

The Earl of Worcester's (xiii) suit is shown russet with gilt bands between which are inverted bands of gilt and white alternating. With the standing and falling buffes, the burgonet, breast, and taces, placcate, back, gorget, chanfron, and saddle pieces, is the note "Thes peces wer made by me Jacobe."

Among the extra pieces shown in the MS. the Earl of Cumberland is the only one that has a *close helmet with gorget*, and Sir Henry Lee's first suit alone has a morion and a target.

Close helmets are seen only with the Norfolk, first and second Lee, first and second Hatton, and the Pembroke suits.

The burgonet without bars occurs in all the suits except the Sussex, Duke John, Sentlo, North, first and second Hatton, and Cumberland suits.

Extra vizors for the close helmets are shown with the first Leicester, the Sussex, Scrope, Hunsdon, Howard, North, first and second Lee, second Hatton and the Bucarte suits, and *extra horizontal pieces for the two part vizor*, occur with the second Lee, first and second Hatton, Pembroke and Bucarte suits.

Extra right pauldrons are seen with the Sir H. Lee's first suit and those of Cumberland, Bucarte, and the third Hatton suit, which last has also an *extra left pauldron*, each of one piece, but articulated.

Long or horsemen's gauntlets are shown with the Cumberland, first Hatton, and Lord Chancellor suits. This last also has *two extra arm-pieces*.

The so called *pas-guards* or *upright neck-guards* are seen among the extra pieces of the two Leicester suits, and those of Sussex, Scrope, Hunsdon, Howard, Norfolk, Pembroke, and the first Hatton suit.

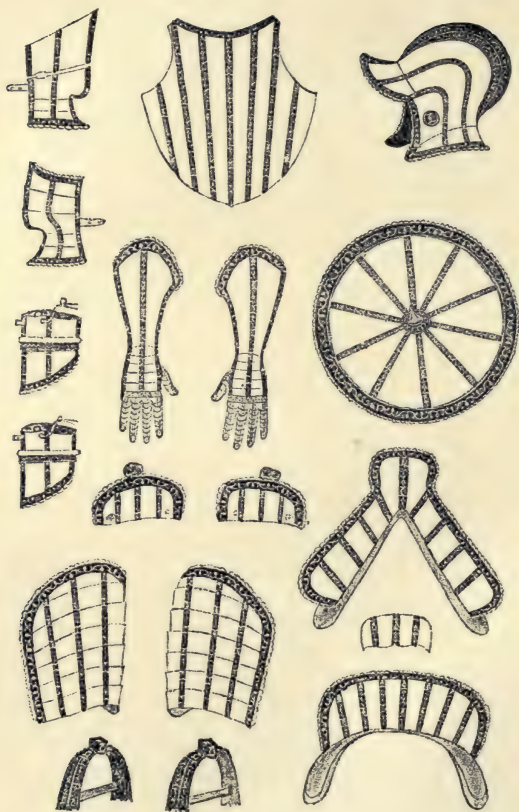
Placcates for further protecting the body are shown with all the suits except Sir Henry Lee's first and second suit and Sir John Smith's.

Standing buffes are seen with all the suits, except those of Sussex, Duke John, Sentlo, the second Leicester suit, of those of Sir John Smith and the Earl of Cumberland.

Falling buffes occur in the extra pieces of all except Lord North, Sir Henry Lee's first suit, Sir C. Hatton's three suits, and those of Smith, Cumberland, and Williams.

The Earl of Worcester's extra pieces, alone include a *back* and a *gorget*, but he as well as Sir Henry Lee, in his first two suits has an *extra breast with taces attached*.

Grand-guards with volant pieces attached are shown with the first Leicester, the Sussex, Scrope, Hunsdon, Howard, North, Norfolk, two first Lee, two first Hatton, Pembroke, Cumberland, and Bucarte suits.



SIR HENRY LEE.

From Jacobe MS. fol. XXV.

Elbow-guards, the real *pas-guards*, occur with the same suits as also do *manifers*.

Locking gauntlets also are found with these suits except Lord North, Lord Bucarte, and Sir Henry Lee's three suits.

Extra taces are shown with the first Leicester, the first and second Hatton, the Pembroke and third Lee suits.

Saddle steels front and back are shown for all the suits except Rutland, Bedford, Finland, Sentlo, Hunsdon, North, Smith, third Hatton, and Williams suit, though Sir Henry Lee's first suit, Leicester's first, Sussex, Cumberland, and Bucarte have only the steel for the face of the saddle bow.

Saddle steels for the cantle are shown with all the above.

Chanfrons are shown with the first and second Leicester, Sussex, Scrope, Howard, Norfolk, Worcester, Lee first and second, Hatton first and second, Pembroke and Cumberland suits, and of these the Pembroke and Hatton ones bear the owner's arms.

Stirrups are seen for the second and third Lee, first Hatton, Cumberland, Bucarte, and Compton suits, the Cumberland suit also has four *vamplates*.

Extra *arm-pieces* for wearing with a chain mail shirt and composed of two pieces for each arm are seen in the Lord Chancellor suit and the third Lee suit.

As an instance of what has befallen armour in past times may be noted the following. In 1718 Thomas Hearn, the antiquary, in his diary mentions that on June 10th he visited the old house at Ditchley, Oxon, the home of Sir Harry Lee, K.G., Master of the Armoury to Queen Elizabeth and James I, three of whose suits are shown in this MS., and at the date of his visit owned by the knight's descendant or kinsman, George Henry, second Earl of Lichfield. Hearne mentions "in one of the out-houses I saw strange armour which belonged to the ancestors of the Earl of Lichfield, some of the armour was very old. I wonder how the heroes and warriors in old time could bear such a weight, as the armour certainly was. I saw forked arrows or darts there, these were such as were used in common exercise when the art of archery was in practice." The sequel to this occurs in the steward's

accounts of a few weeks later, where we have; a penny a day for nine days, paid to a man for "getting the old armour ready to be wayed," and then, "received of Mr. Mott, the brazier, for the old armour wayed 14 cwt. 1 qr. 21 lb. at 10s. the cwt.; £7 4s. 6d." A few months previously, the old saddles in the same room with the armour, had been cut up to nail up trees in the garden.

Who can say what would be the present value of these 14 cwt. of armour if they had been kept? The Leicester suit in the Tower with its Grand-guard and Pas-guard, only weighs $77\frac{1}{4}$ lb., and the armour at Ditchley would thus represent some 20 or 21 complete suits of the date of this MS.

As early as 1511, we find that armourers from Brussels were working in the King's service at Greenwich, and a forge and the necessary tools¹ were supplied to John Blewbery, who seems to have been in charge of the workmen, for in 1514, the wages of armourers from Brussels and Milan are paid through him. In 1515 a payment to him of £11 8s. 0d. for the gowns, coats, and hose, and of one hundred shillings for the diets, mentions that there were eleven Almain armourers there. The wages of these armourers in this year amounted to £16 12s. 6d. per month, but in 1529 there were evidently more men at work, for the month's wages then amounted to £25 6s. 9d.

In 1516 Blewbery received £20 for making a harness mill, probably for the grinding or glazing of armour, and this year there were Almain armourers also at Southwark, where in the following year Sir Henry Guildford received money for the erection of two forges, and for repairs to the armoury. The next year, 1517, an armoury house at Greenwich was erected by Henry Smyth and the overseer of the workmen, one George Lovekyn, received 16d. per diem.

The metal for these workmen in the various armouries came from Innspruck, and amongst the payments is one which informs us that red cloth for the livery, and kersey for the hose of these Almain armourers were also supplied.

In 1530 the armourers appear to have been eighteen in number.

¹ See *The Reliquary*, for 1887, p. 129, for a list of these tools.

In this year Sir Laurence Starber, a German knight and friend of Henry VIII, took over to Nuremburg some English iron ore to be tested for armour, but as foreign stuff continues to be noted as being imported, it seems that our native metal was not found good for the purpose of armour.

In 1556 the increased cost of wood was urged as a reason for the proposed closing of all iron mills in England, and it is mentioned that the load of wood had risen from 1*d.* to 2*s.*, and whereas Spanish iron formerly cost 5 marks the ton, now English iron cost 9 marks.

It evidently was the working of the metal which was the chief cause of the inferiority of the home product as compared with that from Spain, "Hungere," or elsewhere, and accordingly in Elizabeth's reign a Captain Martin and others established battering mills at Deptford, and also imported German workmen from Innspruck. Seven or eight of these platers, as they were called (probably from plattner, German for armourer), were employed at Erith, and a large quantity of armour plates were prepared and put in the market. But after a time all of these platers died except one, and he was "of so cunninge and obstinate a disposition that he would never yet be brought to teach any Englishman the true mystery of plating."

In 1590 another attempt was made to use iron from Shropshire, and a fair trial was made of the home article by Sir Henry Lee, Master of the Armoury. This trial, which will be found described in the knight's own words in *Archæologia*, vol. li, p. 167, also proved unfavourable to the English metal, and the foreign "stuff" was still holding the market as late as 1634; when one of Captain Martin's former partners petitioned Charles I to start Government mills, assuring him that it would be much to the advantage of the country in an economic as well as other grounds to have the metal prepared in this country.

The monthly charges for the Standing Armoury at Greenwich, July 7, 1 Elizabeth (1559), give us the names of some armourers of that day.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
*Erasmus Kyrkener ...	40	0	*Willm. Barworth, mill-		
The Clarke of the			man	30	0
Armoury	36	10	*Richard Stephen, lock-		
James Fuller, yeoman...	24	0	smith... ..	24	0
John Kelte, hammerman	38	10	Henricke Bourman,		
*Mathew Diricte, ham-			locksmith	24	0
merman	34	0	Henry Starkey, lock-		
*Tarries Spiraude, ham-			smith... ..	24	0
merman	32	0	Martin Durre, labourer	14	0
*Leonarde Guynwell,			John Rugge, labourer...	15	4
hammerman... ..	32	0	The gilder	3	4
*Hance Mightner, ham-					
merman	32	0	The ordinary charges for coals,		
Jacob Halore, hammer-			steel, iron, nails, buckles,		
man	32	0	leather, latten bromes, rentand		
*John Garret, hammer-			reparation of the mill, oil, soap,		
man	32	0	and tallow comes to £7 per		
Mighell Pipe, hammer-			month.		
man	32	0	Total per month £35 16s. 4d. ;		
Thomas Cowp, hammer-			and at twenty-eight days to		
man	34	0	the month, and with £27 6s.		
John Baker, millman ...	22	0	for liveries it amounts to		
Hance Droste, millman	30	0	£492 18s. 4d.		

* Held similar offices in 1574, when Cornellys was the gilder.

Armourers.

Of the English armourers, or rather of those working in England in the sixteenth century, we have no very full list. The names of the members of the Armourers' Company in 1537 I have already printed in the *Reliquary* for 1887, and of many others, notices will be found in *Archæologia*, vol. li, where is printed the inventory of arms and armour at Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich in 1547. But the actual periods during which these armourers were working cannot be fully ascertained at present. Erasmus Kirkener, or as he is often called, Asamus, appears as early as 1519, when he received an annuity of £20 as armourer for the body to Henry VIII, and we find him as late as 1574, as master workman at Greenwich. Dethic, the grandfather of the famous antiquary, is said to have come to England with him, and to have exercised the same calling. Sir Henry Lee speaks of Jacobe as master workman at Greenwich in his letter of 1590, but as yet no other mention of him has been found. April 7, 1604, Wm. Pickering obtained

a grant in reversion of the office of master workman of the Almain Armourers at Greenwich, and in April 1629, Nicholas Sherman was sworn into the same office in the room of Thomas Stevens, deceased.

As to Pickering, we know that payments were made to him for suits of armour for Prince Henry, and it has been assumed that the suit at Windsor made for that prince was one of these. But it so closely resembles the Cumberland suit in the Jacobe MS. as to suggest that if Pickering did indeed made the Prince's suit, he was a close copyist of Jacobe's work.

It is a long stretch of years from John, Duke of Finland's visit to England in 1559 to about 1610, when Prince Henry would be sixteen years of age, and perhaps just able to wear such a suit as the Windsor one, and if Jacobe made both suits he must have died at a very advanced age.

A note of 1625 as to armour lately made at Greenwich is here appended.

A true note of all such Armors as have been made by his Maties armorors at Greenewich lately, viz:—

Imprimis for ye King Matn.	Tilt Armors 2		
For ye Duke of Buckingham	Tilt Armors 2		
For ye late Marquis Hamelton....	Tilt Armor 1		
For ye late Earle of Dorset	Tilt Armors 2		
For ye now Earle of Dorset	Tilt Armor 1		
For ye Earle of Oxford	Tilt Armor 1	....	more for ye feeld Armor 1
For ye Lo. Garret	Tilt Armor 1		
For ye Lo. Compton	Tilt Armor 1		
For ye Earle of Desmond	Tilt Armor 1		
For ye Lo. Mansfeeld	Tilt Armor 1	....	more for ye feeld Armor 1
For my Lo. Monioy	Tilt Armor 1	....	more for ye feeld Armor 1
For ye Earle of Bedford ....	....	....	feeld Armor 1
For ye Lo. Stanhop	Tilt Armor 1		
For ye Lo. Bruce	Tilt Armor 1		
For ye Lo. Gourdon ....	....	....	feeld Armor 1
For Sr Henrie Mildmay	Tilt Armor 1		
For Mr. Carie	Tytl Armor 1		
For Sr William Hayden for his Maties s ^{vice} at St. Martin lands	feeld Armor 4		
For ye Mr. of ye Armorie ....	....	....	feeld Armor 1
For Sr William Pitt ....	....	....	feeld Armor 1
For Sr Arnold Harbert....	....	....	feeld Armor 1
For Sr Oloam Remton....	....	....	feeld Armor 1
For ye Barron of Burford	Tilt Armor 1	....	more for ye feeld Armor 1

An order for making a tilt armor for ye Lo. Marquis Hamilton 1.

An order for making a tilt armor for ye Earle of Northampton 1.

Some of these were made by ye King's Maties comaund and some by the Lo. Chamberlins comaund, and ye rest by comaund from ye Master of His Maties Armoury.

Besides other new armors and works that is ready in the Office upon anie occasion.

Complaints as to the abuses in the armoury seem to have been made with some persistence about 1627 by one Roger Faulkner, who "petitions the King that the Armourers of Greenwich have performed small service of late. They have received in seven years £3,000, and have not made seven armours for the King's use. He attributes their negligence to Sir William Cooper, the overseer, and prays that they may be employed in translating old armour."

"Roger Faulkener's petition about the armoury was ordered to be reported on by the Earl of Totnes, who in February 1627-8, advises that John Cooper, the keeper of the King's brigandines, which did not then exist should surrender his patent, and be made Surveyor of the Armoury appd. by the King. This Cooper refused to do unless his arrears of 16*d.* a day for a year and a-half be paid."

In 1628, one Whetstone had a project for making armour much lighter yet as good as proof, but not much information as to the system employed can be gathered from his petition.

In the same year certain armourers, John Dunnington, Rob Harwood, Miles Mahew, Rob. Leeminge, Wm. Laund and others, petitioned unsuccessfully for the renewal of a grant of July 11, 1620.

The two last-named appear to be foreign, and Leeminge certainly was of the Laiminger, alias Löffler, family of armourers of Augsburg.

The Attorney General advised this should not be done.

In 1629, John Medley, of Poitiers, made a petition which gives so much information as to the state of the armoury that it is here given.

"The humble petition of John Medley, an inhabitant of Poitiers, armorer. That 'the late Lord Duke's grace gave order to Lord Mounjoy for his coming over to be employed in H.M.'s service.' Prays that as the King allows £400 per annum for the Armory, he, the petitioner, will make clean and repair the said armour, and also furnish yearly armour for fifty horsemen."

Report by Coke.

"At Greenwich, besides the surveyor, there are workmen sworn the King's servants, but without other patents than a Privy Seal, which expresseth that their allowances are

during life, namely for twenty-one persons called *Almaine* Armourers, whereof a master workman or chief armorer is allowed 40s. per mensem, a clerk of the Armory 36s. 10d., a yeoman of the Armory 24s., two millmen at 35s. 5d. each, one hammerman at 24s., two millmen at 30s. each, and another at 22s. Three locksmiths 24s. each, two labourers at 15s. 4d. and 14s., a gilder 3s. 4d. Fuel for the monthly ordinary average of coal, steel, iron, nails, buckles, leather, latten, brooms, rent and reparation of the mill, oyle, soap, tallow, and other necessities, monthly £7. Which wages and charges amount monthly to £35 16s. 4d. Besides yearly liveries for the workmen.

“All cometh yearly to £466 3s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., besides liveries. For this charge at the present no work at all is performed. The workmen pretend they are to do no work but for the King's own person, and for such noblemen for whom the King sendeth his own warrant. Upon examination, before the Earl of Totnes, it appears they had received above £3,000 for making three armours for the King. If they work for any other they are paid at the rate of £15 for a tilting armour. It is alledged that other workmen cannot make tilting armour. Yet there is not more than one workman left in the office can make a compleat armour.”

A few words on the history and acquisition of the MS. may be interesting. Our learned friend the Baron de Cosson told me some years ago that he had seen this MS. at Paris, and kindly gave me a note of the chief names in it, in the hope that certain suits in the Tower of London might receive their proper attribution. When in Paris last autumn I had the pleasure and advantage of meeting the Baron and Count Valencia de Don Juan, the accomplished Curator of the *Armeria Real* of Madrid, I then reminded the Baron of the book. He kindly took me to M. Stein, who had recently acquired it at the Spitzer sale, and was on the point of despatching it to the South Kensington Museum for inspection. When I saw it I at once recognised that it was a work I had long sought for, namely a book referred to by Pennant in his account of London, as being in the possession at that time (1790) of the Duchess of Portland (daughter of Harley, Earl of Oxford) who permitted him to engrave in his work the suit of

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the second suit of that nobleman in the MS.¹ M. Stein most amiably permitted me to bring over the MS. to England, and I am sure that all antiquaries, and especially students of armour must rejoice that their Lordships presiding over the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, saw their way to obtaining for, and in fact restoring to England, a very interesting volume of the great Harleian Library, as this certainly was.

To all students the MS. is interesting, but especially to us in England, and I think there is little doubt that the possession of this work will lead to the identification of many other suits or portions of suits now in England.

¹ Strutt in his dresses and costumes, under similar circumstances from this vol. ii, pl. cvli, has given the figure of MS.
George, Earl of Cumberland, taken

Plate I.	Sir Henry Lee, XIV.
II.	" " " extra pieces.
III.	" " " XXV.
IV.	" " " extra pieces.

AN OLD WATCH AND ITS MAKER.

By TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

The work of art to which I wish to call your attention to-day is an English double-cased gold watch that has been in the possession of my family for nearly a century and a-half, having been given to my great-grandmother, Elizabeth Wallman, afterwards Mrs. Joseph Pattisson, by her parents as a birthday present in or about the year 1751.

The exact date of the watch is not quite certain, but of this more anon.

My first object was simply to lay it before you as a specimen of the goldsmith's art of the last century; but on looking into the matter I found there were certain points with regard to the maker of the watch that suggested further investigation.

This investigation I have pursued diligently, and with, I hope, some measure of success; for which I must thank several friends, and especially Mr. Charles Read, of the British Museum, Sir Owen Roberts, Mr. Henry Charles Overall, Clerk of the Worshipful Company of Clock-makers, Mr. Herbert Rix, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, Sir Walter Prideaux, Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company, Mr. R. W. Frazer, Librarian of the London Institution, and the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott).

The watch was worn at the waist, outside the dress, with the back outwards, so that the case was exposed to considerable wear. For ordinary occasions, therefore, a case of tortoiseshell was used, placed upon yellow metal so as to throw out its brilliant colours. But on gala-days the good lady wore a case of much greater pretensions, richly dight with figures wrought in gold in high relief.

The style of the day was pseudo-classical; in which a composition originally Greek, but doctored to suit the Roman market, was altered to meet the fancy of the French who then dictated laws of taste to the civilized world.

The back of the case is covered with *repoussé* work,

well executed in the style of Louis Quinze. In the centre a double-winged and partially-draped figure descends to place a wreath on a draped female seated on the right. On the left flits Cupid, with his bow. Two similar urchins crouch beneath the central figure, busied with a garland. In the background are trees. The whole is surrounded by a wide border of ornament, scrolls, garlands and flowers, rich indeed, but to a modern eye too florid. What the subject is intended to be is not so clear, and it might be best to take refuge in the conveniently vague term "allegorical." If, however, we are put to it, we may claim the subject as classical, and compare the case of another watch of similar style by John Ellicott, now in the Guildhall Library,¹ where Hercules is very conspicuous with his club. We may suggest the story of Cupid and Psyche.

The engraver's name, "H. Manly," may be read with a good glass, scratched or engraved beneath the lowest of the figures.

In case G in the Mediæval Room at the British Museum, and forming part of the collection bequeathed by Mr. Octavius Morgan, are two watches with gold outer cases chased in a style much resembling that of the specimen before us. One of the watches is English, made by Isaac Rogers, London, the inner case being hall marked, 1748. The subject represented on the outer case is probably a Roman marriage; possibly it was for a wedding present.

The other is labelled "Dutch watch, 1700-1710. . . . Outer case chased by H. Manly," *i.e.*, by the artist who chased mine. The subject is clearly intended for the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis.

In the adjoining case, K, are three similar specimens—first an "English watch by King about 1730. Presented by Mrs. George Cruikshank"; secondly, an "English watch by J. Thornton"; and thirdly, a part of a case without label, this last being in a style very like that of the case of my watch.

More historically interesting, though perhaps less artistic, is their neighbour, a well-worn silver repeater,

¹ In the central case, in the collection belonging to the Clockmakers' Company.

made about 1770 by Ellicott, London, presented by Sir J. D. Hooker, since it belonged to Jeremy Bentham, the famous Jurisconsult, still to be seen, if not in the flesh, at any rate in his bones, not far off. For in accordance with his wish, his skeleton, dressed in his habit as he lived, and furnished with a coloured wax cast of his face, still sits in a box within the Anatomical Museum, at University College, London.

In the collection belonging to the Clockmakers' Company, at present deposited in a room adjoining the Guildhall Library, there is a watch by John Ellicott, with outer case in the same style as mine, "richly chased with a classical subject," two of the figures representing Hercules and Minerva. Close to it lies a similar case chased by Moser. In the Nelthropp Collection in the same room there are three silver watchcases of the same style.

At South Kensington, in the central or "Lord President's" Court of the Fine Art Department, among watches of the eighteenth century, there is a repeater signed "Gerret Bramer, Amsterdam." Its outer case of gold is *repoussé*, and chased with classic figures banquetting; and bears the inscription "H. Manly fecit."

Of similar style are the cases of four other eighteenth century watches in the same compartment, viz.:—

- (1) Gold case "*repoussé* with figures playing musical instruments surrounded by scrolls and trophies." This watch was "made by Abraham Collomby, London."
- (2) Gold outer case of a repeater by "Jno. Champion, London," 1779, "embossed with a group of classical figures; rococo border."
- (3) Gilt metal watch and case; "the case is *repoussé* with a classical scene of Venus, Bacchus, and Cupid, in a landscape surrounded by scroll and floral patterns by Whitaker of Camberwell."
- (4) Gilt metal watch case of English make, "*repoussé* with a group of figures representing the baptism of a Roman emperor (Constantine?) surrounded by scroll and floral patterns."

In the same Court, but forming part of Mr. J. Dunn Gardner's loan collection, there is a gold watch by Grignion of London, the outer case of which is "*repoussé* with Mars and Venus, scrolls and flowers." In style this is similar to those just mentioned, but it is assigned to the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the same collection is a watch of the eighteenth century "in gold case with classical subject in relief." This watch is said to be French, though its style closely resembles the above, and is not like that of the other French watches in the Museum.

There is no reason to suppose Manly was a Frenchman and the name smacks strongly of the British Isles. Yet curiously enough he seems to have had some connection with Holland, for both in the British Museum and at South Kensington we have found his work on the outer cases of Dutch watches. Possibly these watches were finished on this side of the German Ocean. Be this as it may I have searched in vain for any further information as to Manly. His name does not occur in the *Gilda Aurifabrorum* of the late W. Chaffers; and the officers of the Goldsmiths' Company know nothing of him.

The watch itself is a handsome specimen of the Old English verge watch. With regard to decoration the tulip-form of the pillars may be noted. The inner case bears the usual Hallmarks, the Leopard's head crowned and the Lion passant, denoting 22 carat standard gold. The maker's initials; "J. B.," are merely stamped in without any escutcheon or other accessories, in accordance with the simple custom of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ As to these initials it is to be noted that "the first letters of the surname were alone used" till "the Act of 1739 . . . ordered the makers to destroy their existing marks, and to substitute for them *the initials of their Christian and surnames*."² Now the initials are clearly J. B., not I. B., and as no conceivable name could begin with a combination of these two consonants, we may presume that they imply a date later than that year; and could not have been employed in 1737, the year to which some have attributed

See W. J. Cripps', *Old English* ² *Ibid.*
Plate, 5th edition, p. 54.

the making of the watch. "J. B.," however, will give us little help in determining the actual name. In the lists of Plateworkers in the *Gilda Aurifabrorum* there are many entries of such initials about the middle of the last century. "J. B." might stand for an endless variety of combinations, from Jacques Bonhomme to John Bull.

As to the "annual letter," denoting the date, we may refer to the Table of Marks on Plate made in London, given by Mr. Cripps; when we shall find that the alphabet used on the inner case of the watch under consideration is that beginning with the year 1736. Some indeed who have examined the annual letter, naturally supposing it stood in the same position as the maker's initials, read it as a "b"; thus making the date 1737. If this were adopted, however, it would involve an alteration in the table given by Mr. Cripps, for the indented form of shield seen in the instance before us does not occur, according to that table, till two years later. But the "loop" being always at the bottom of the shield, the letter must be taken as placed in a direction opposite to that of the maker's initials, and must consequently be read, not as a "b" but as a "q"; the date being therefore not 1737—but 1751. To set the matter at rest I appealed to the Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company on this point as well as on the history of the makers of the two gold cases. His reply was "that after some considerable research" he was "unable to find anything in the Company's records to throw light upon the watch."

I ventured to call again upon Sir Walter Prideaux, and he was kind enough once more to consult the officers of the Company as to the letter marking the date. The answer was that they inclined to the opinion that it was "q," and not "b." There would seem then still to be some doubt. For my own part, I should fancy the evidence for 1751 to be tolerably strong. But I am not one to rush in where Goldsmiths fear to tread! That family tradition, as embodied in the modern inscription on the back of the watch, points to the earlier date, is of little consequence.

If there is not much to be ascertained about the artist Manly, or the enigmatic "J. B.," and no absolute certainty

as to the date, we may at first sight also feel a little vague as to the maker of the works, though his signature "Jno. Ellicott, London," is plainly engraved upon them; for there were undoubtedly three John Ellicotts in the eighteenth century, and may have been more.

According to the records of the Clockmakers' Company a John Ellicott, whom we may call No. 1, was admitted to the freedom of the Company in 1696. As he must have been at least twenty-one years of age to be so admitted, we know that he was born not later than 1675. In 1732 we find him serving the office of Warden, and in June, 1733, he died in office.

John Ellicott, No. 1, could not then be maker of a watch which bears date 1751, or at any rate some years later than 1733. The Company have no other Ellicott on their books till the admission of John Ellicott in July, 1782.

That there was, however, an horologist of distinction named John Ellicott in existence at the time when the watch was made is proved by the records of the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow. It is there shown that he was elected on October 26, 1738, and admitted on November 2 of the same year, and that he died in 1772.

This John Ellicott is credited with nine¹ contributions to the Transactions of the Society. Of these, two were on electricity, in which he seems to have made experiments, the first being entitled "On weighing the strength of electrical effluvia"; the second "Essays towards the discovering the laws of electricity"—a title humble enough—though perhaps it might still be employed by the learned of the nineteenth century, or by its successor, now almost knocking at our gates.

In 1736 we find John Ellicott submitting to the Royal Society an improved pyrometer, or instrument for measuring the extension or contraction of metals or other bodies by heat². He also wrote on the construction of pendulums, and he invented a compensation pendulum.

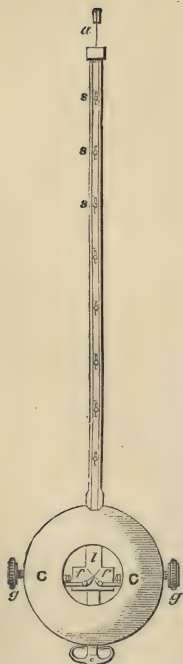
¹ One of these was a letter addressed to him by an acquaintance who wished his name concealed. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, xlv. p. 96.

² *Philosophical Transactions*. xxxix. 297-9. cf. the *Gentleman's Magazine*, xx. 119-22.

To face page 135.



JOHN ELLICOTT.



For the accompanying representation of this we are indebted to Mr. F. J. Britten, who in his *Former Clock and Watchmakers and Their Work*, (p. 107), thus describes it:—

“The bob rests on the longer ends of two levers, of which the shorter ends are depressed by the superior expansion of a brass bar attached to the pendulum rod” “*a* is the suspension spring; *s s s* screws for uniting the steel rod to the brass bar; slotted holes in the latter allowing it to move freely in answer to changes of temperature; *f f* the two levers pivoted to the steel rod; on the shorter ends rests the brass bar; the screws *g g* pass through the pendulum bob *c c*, and rest on the longer ends of the levers. By turning the screws their bearing on the levers may be adjusted.”

According to Mr. Nelthropp¹ and Mr. Britten,² Ellicott was born in 1700; but according to the *Dictionary of National Biography* about six years later; and Bromley in his *Catalogue of Engraved Portraits* (p. 401) seems to suggest 1705. His shop “was in Sweeting’s Alley, Cornhill, close to the old Royal Exchange.”³ Sweeting’s Alley was not rebuilt after the Fire at the Exchange.

Of this John Ellicott⁴ at the age of 67, a portrait was painted by Dance, a mezzotinto engraving of which by Robert Dunkarton, belonging to the Clockmakers’ Company, may be seen in their collection at the Guildhall Library. The painting itself, however, is not in the possession of the Company, nor in that of the Royal Society, where I had hoped to find it. I looked in vain for it in the catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery,

¹ *A Treatise on Watchwork*, p. 92.

² *The Watch and Clockmaker’s Handbook, Dictionary, and Guide*, by F. J. Britten, 8th edition (1892), p. 128.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ For our engraving of Ellicott we have again to thank Mr. Britten.

and came to the conclusion that if still in existence it must be in private hands, and so it has proved to be; for the other day, I received an invitation from the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Charles John Ellicott), to call and see the portrait at his London residence. It is a three-quarter length portrait of Ellicott seated and leaning with his right elbow on a table, on which lie a diagram, and a volume suggesting the Transactions of the Royal Society. The artist, Nathaniel Dance, R.A., afterwards Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart., M.P., was a painter well known in his own day.

John Ellicott the second, the subject of Dance's picture, was celebrated, says a writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "for the beauty and excellence of his workmanship"; and "specimens of his art are much prized." So too says Dubois:—"Les montres et les pendules que fit cet artiste habile sont encore aujourd'hui très-recherchées en Angleterre."¹ They fetched a good sum in his own day, for Horace Walpole writes that the price of a watch and chain by Ellicott was 134 guineas.²

In the latter part of Ellicott's life, he had a house at Hackney, where he observed the transit of Venus.³

At Hackney he died, leaving a son Edward, who had been admitted to partnership about 1769, and succeeded to his father's business, and to the office of King's Watchmaker. Edward's son, also called Edward, carried on the business at Sweeting's Alley. He was Master of the Clockmakers' Company in 1834, and part of 1835, in July of which year he died⁴ without issue. His brother John had an only child Charles, who became rector of Whitwell, Rutland. This Charles also had only one child, Charles John, the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, to whom I am chiefly indebted for this account of the family. All other notices of the Ellicotts seem to contain hopeless inconsistencies.

Through the kindness of the Librarian, Mr. Frazer, I have been able to see the clock made by John Ellicott for the London Institution, with a compensation pendulum of his own invention. It was of this pendulum that Sir E.

¹ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, xv p. 892.

² Letter to Sir Horace Mann, June 8, 1759.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxi. p. 318.

⁴ Atkins and Overall, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers of the City of London*, p. 89.

Beckett Denison wrote:¹—"There is another bad one which is still used in small French clocks, though it has long ago been abandoned in England, where it was invented by Ellicott, a clockmaker in the last century"—and again "I suppose they are only made because they have a kind of scientific look to ignorant people, in clocks made to show and to sell." In spite of this hostile criticism the old clock at the London Institution is a first-rate timekeeper, and all the clocks and watches about the place are set by it. It loses only *one second a week*. How few of us could say the same!

Hearing that another specimen of Ellicott's handiwork was to be found in the London Hospital, I made a pilgrimage from Hampstead to Mile End Road, and was rewarded by finding in the Secretary's office a clock still in excellent condition, and bearing on its metal face the inscription "John Ellicott, London."

John Ellicott was then an important personage. He was the King's Watchmaker in days when watchmakers were rarer birds than they are now. Two of his craft, Tompion and George Graham, were deemed worthy of a tomb in Westminster Abbey, and it was in Ellicott's time that John Harrison, a watchmaker, gained the £20,000 offered by Parliament for a timekeeper sufficiently accurate for ascertaining longitude at sea.² As an Oxford or a Cambridge College keeps up its benefactor's tomb, so the Clockmakers' Company has most appropriately undertaken the pious task of tending the monument that marks Harrison's last resting place to the south of the old church at Hampstead.³

It is this second John Ellicott then that we must consider as the maker of my great grandmother's watch. My mother used to amuse us by imitating the well satisfied way in which the old lady would refer to her treasured timekeeper as made "by Ellicott, the King's Watchmaker." But curiously enough he is the very John Ellicott who is *not* on the roll of the Clockmakers' Company; though in 1782, ten years after his death, a *third* John Ellicott (no

¹ *A Rudimentary Treatise on Clocks*, 7th edition, pp. 64-5.

² Mr. Overall has collected some interesting facts as to this matter.

³ Portraits of Graham and Harrison,

and also of another famous watchmaker, Arnold, with his family, are to be found in the southern galleries at South Kensington.

doubt the Bishop's grandfather) takes up his freedom of the Company *by patrimony*. Surely then our watchmaker, John Ellicott the second, or at any rate his son Edward, must have been free of the Clockmakers' Company. If he was, there must have been some carelessness in keeping the register, a thing by no means impossible in the easy going eighteenth century. If on the other hand he was not a member of the Clockmakers' Company, we must suppose, (as the present Clerk suggests) that he lived too far westwards to be reached by the Company's powers; though this leaves the question of patrimony in the case of John Ellicott number three unexplained.

Nowadays every schoolboy—aye, and every schoolgirl too—has his or her watch. Watches are turned out by machinery and sold wholesale like eggs. It is pleasant to look back on the days when they were rarities; when a watch was an individual, apart and separate from every other, a personal distinction special to its owner.

In those days watchmaking must have been to many a labour of love, as well as a very profitable trade; and might most fitly be practised by men of the stamp of that worthy Fellow of the Royal Society, John Ellicott, "the King's Clockmaker."

THE ANTIQUITIES OF VIENNE.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

APPENDIX.

(See Vol. LI., pp. 251 and 371.)

Under the friendly guidance of Mons. De Biauzat, Ingénieur de Mines, a resident at Clermont, I went to see the so-called *Muraille des Sarrasins*, which has probably escaped the notice of many visitors—the only vestige of Roman occupation still remaining above ground in the city. It can be reached by the allée des Salles, a street off the Place de Jaude behind the statue of Desaix; or if the traveller is making the excursion to the Puy de Dôme, he may find this monument by proceeding for a few minutes along the rue Blatin, and then turning to the left. The wall consists of square blocks of lava, between which seven rows of bricks, like bonding tiles, have been laid. Four engaged columns of the same materials stand out conspicuously, and between two of them traces of an arch may be discerned.

Roman architecture was attributed incorrectly to the Saracens, for, with few exceptions, such as detached towers in the Pyrenees and in the amphitheatre at Arles, (?) though they penetrated as far as Touraine, that nation did not build when they invaded France. See *Facsimile of the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honcourt*, edited by Professor Willis, p. 39 seq. Explanation of the Plates. Plate X. "De tel maniere fu li sepouture d'un Sarrazin q'io vi une fois." This tomb of a Saracen or rather of a pagan, for he who was not a Christian was a Mahometan in the eyes of a contemporary of the Crusades, is apparently sketched from memory. P. 40, note p., M. Quicherat remarks that "*murs Sarrasins*" is a mediæval term always meaning Roman ruins. M. V.-J. Vaillant informed me that a part of the enclosing wall of the Roman camp at Boulogne, which has disappeared, bore the same appellation.

As in Germany the boundary-wall extending from the Rhine to the Danube was "universally ascribed to the power of the Daemon," so the French gave the name of their most dreaded enemies to fortifications erected in a period long antecedent to the appearance of the Arabs in Western Europe.

On former occasions I have referred to some valuable publications concerning the Pfahlgraben, and especially to Col. Cohausen's *Römische Grenzwall*; but I take this opportunity of inviting attention to a still more important work on the same subject, commenced by order of the Reichs-Limes-Kommission. It is entitled *DER OBER-GERMANISCH-RAETISCHE LIMES DES ROEMERREICHS . . . herausgegeben von dem militaerischen und dem archæologischen Dirigenten O. von Sarwey, Generallieutenant zu Dienst, und F. Hettner, Museumsdirector*, and will probably be completed in 40 to 50 numbers (*Lieferungen*) profusely illustrated; the price to subscribers will be

from 125 to 160 marks. The first number has already appeared, containing the forts (*Kastelle*) at Butzbach, Murrhardt and Unterböbingen.

Many lakes in Auvergne now fill up the craters of volcanos; they may be seen in the Map of Le Mont Dore et ses Environs, between pp. 274 and 275 of *Joanne's Guide, France—Auvergne et Centre*, 1892. The little Lac de Guéry within a few miles of Mont-Dore-les-Bains is an exception: *ibid.*, p. 278, "Il est beaucoup moins profond que les autres lacs de l'Auvergne, parce qu'il ne remplit pas comme eux un cratère éteint, mais qu'il a été formé par le relèvement du sol autour de ses bords."

Vercingetorix was an Arvernian, and Gergovia, 7 kilomètres from Clermont, was the scene of his most brilliant exploits; for here he compelled Cæsar to abandon the siege and to retreat beyond the Allier. See *Histoire de Jules César par l'Empereur Napoleon III.*, Text vol. II., pp. 268–283, livre III., chap. X.; *Atlas Planches*, 21, *Plan de Gergovia*; 22 *Camps de César, Vue du Plateau de Gergovia*. So we find the hero and the place giving names—the former to an avenue, the latter to a boulevard in the chef-lieu du Département du Puy-de-Dôme. This chieftain holds a position corresponding to that of Arminius (Hermann) in Germany, and judging from various representations of him which the streets of Clermont exhibit, his achievements seem to be as fresh in the memory of Frenchmen as those of Lord Nelson among ourselves. A statue of him has been erected near Alise Ste. Reine (between Dijon and Tonnerre), on the plateau of Mont Auxois—the site of the ancient Alesia, where he was besieged by Cæsar, and at last surrendered: *op. citat.*, Text vol. II., pp. 298–323, livre III., chap. X. § XII., *Blocus d'Alesia*, § XIII., *Détails sur les fouilles opérées à Alise*. Pl. 19, *Carte générale de la campagne de l'an 702*: pl. 25, *Plan d'Alesia*, folding page; pl. 26, *Vues du mont Auxois*; pl. 27 sq., *Détails des Travaux Romains à Alesia*. *Duruy, Histoire*, tome I., p. 50, with engraving of the statue, p. 64.

Glück gives a list of Celtic names occurring in Cæsar, but Vercingetorix does not occupy its alphabetical place; however it will be found, p. 75, note 2, under the heading *Conconnetodumnus*, with an explanation, *i.e. valde fortis dominus: cinget (fortis)* . . . in Verbindung mit der Verstärkungspartikel *ver*. Cf. p. 174, *Jenes ver ist nicht lat. vir* . . . sondern *Kymr. guer*—(=*ver*) das später in die Formen *guor*—, *gor*—, *gwr*—überging (*S. Zeuss*, 151. 867. *S. u. f.*).

For the coins struck by the defender of Gaulish independence I presume the best authority is the *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, rédigé par Ernest Muret, et publié par les soins de M. A. Chabouillet, pp. 84–87, nos. 3772–3780. This elaborate work is accompanied by an Atlas of Plates admirably executed, which M. Henri de la Tour has edited. No. 3774 bears on the obverse the legend *VERCINGETORIXS*, cf. nos. 3777–3780, where we should notice *XS*, and Atlas, Pl. XII., 3774–3778. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. II., 92, mentions the use, in some early inscriptions, of *XΣ* as well as *KΣ* for *x*. Cf. *Cæsar, Bell. Gall.* I, 29, l. In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repetitæ sunt litteris Græcis confectæ, et ad Cæsarem relatæ; *ibid.*, VI., 14, 3. (*Druides*) *Græcis utantur litteris*. and Strabo, lib. IV., cap. I., § 5, p. 181, ὥστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν.

The stork appears on the coins of Vercingetorix, nos. 3784-3786 and 3802, as in the gens Cæcilia: Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, Pl. VIII., figs. 10, 11, *vide supra*. See other examples in Table des Matières of Muret's Catalogue, s.v. Cigogne, attaquant les chevaux d'un bige, mangeant un serpent, &c.

The following books may be consulted with advantage by those who wish to study the coinage of the Arverni:—*Lelewel, Type Gaulois ou Celtique*, 1841, *Index Alphabétique*, s.v. Arvernes; *Atlas*, Planche VII., no. 39, Arverne . . . INGETORIX. (*sic*) in the text, but in the plate he has XS. Nos. 59-63, centre PIXTILOS.

Duchalais, Médailles Gauloises faisant partie des collections de la Bibliothèque Royale, 1846, pp. 1-5, Epasnactus, Vergasillaunus, Viigotalus, Incertains, Pl. 1, no. 1.

Hucher, L'Art Gaulois, ou Les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles, 1868, p. 50. *Index of Plates*; Pls. 3, no. 2; 19, no. 1; 20, no. 2, &c. For the names of Gallic chieftains see Table du Texte de l'Art Gaulois, which immediately follows the Index of Plates. In this work, for the most part, the coins are considerably enlarged; some of them are counter-marked.

The Catalogue by M. Muret, mentioned above, contains Monnaies des Arverni, nos. 3614-4033; observe that there are more than four hundred examples! Au type du renard 3963-3989; indépendants, 3693-3718; sous la suprématie éduenne, 3682-3692. In some we see imitations of the Greek type and ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ on the reverse in various forms, e.g., no. 3614 ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ; no. 3884 has for legend EPAD on a coin of Epasnactus, an Arvernian chief, who occurs in Hirtius, Bell. Gall. VIII., 44, included in Oudendorp's edition of *Cæsar's Commentaries*. No. 3900, *et seqq.*: the device on the obverse is derived from the denarii of the Gens Plætoria, with the legend CESTIANVS, for which see Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires Éclaircissements*, p. 252, pl. XXXII. This series is illustrated by the Atlas that accompanies the Catalogue, plates XII., XIII., Arverni, Nos. 3614-4007.

Rollin et Feuarent, Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule en vente à l'amiable, avec les prix fixés à chaque numéro, 1864. As this brochure is now 30 years old, the prices marked must be regarded as only approximate; however it will be useful to the collector. V. p. 11 *sq.*, Arvernes, Chefs Arvernes.

From the good workmanship of some Arvernian coins we may infer that this people had attained a high degree of civilization before Cæsar's invasion. The material for those struck in gold must have been imported, for, as Monsieur De Biazat informs me, that metal has never been found in their country.

Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis, edit. Böcking, p. 120*, cap. XL., mentions the Arverni,

[12] Præfectus Lætorum

Gentilium Suevorum Arvernos Aquitanicæ Primæ. Annotatio, p. 1115* *sq.*, a copious note with many citations.

For *Arverna* as an ancient name for Clermont we have the authority of Sidonius Apollinaris, one of the most eminent *littérateurs* under the Lower Empire, who flourished in the fifth century

after Christ, and wrote poems (*Carmina*)—three of them *Panegyrics*—and *Epistles*; though not educated for the church he was appointed bishop of this see: *Epist. lib. III.*, 1, p. 240 init., edit. Baret, 1879, *forte pergens urbem ad Arverniam*. A more famous name is that of the pulpit-orator Massillon, who held the same office. But one still greater than they has shed the lustre of genius on Clermont. Blaise Pascal was born here (1623), and he is commemorated by a fine bronze statue seated, that adorns a triangular garden in the Place Saint-Hérem, close to the road leading from the town to the railway station. The one erected by the city of Paris under the arch of the ground-floor of the Tour de Saint-Jacques de-la-Boucherie, being in the Rue de Rivoli, is too well known to require more than a passing allusion. Marin, *Quinze Jours à Paris*, 1849, p. 125, states that the church to which this tower belonged was demolished in the Revolution of 1789; see also *Galignani's Paris Guide*, pp. 34 and 271 (6^{ème} Arrondissement) with engraving. Pascal chose the plateau of the Puy-de-Dôme for the experiments made by his brother-in-law, Perier, to prove the pressure of the atmosphere. A French writer justly remarks on this important discovery, "C'est de cette époque que date la physique moderne": Article in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*.

I subjoin the titles of some publications belonging to the bibliography of Auvergne, in addition to those cited above:—

Catalogue du Musée de Clermont-Ferrand, 1861. This is an interesting collection, in which the objects are classified. § IV. Antiquités Égyptiennes, Gauloises et Gallo-Romaines 1^{ère} salle, vitrine circulaire. § V. Antiquités Gallo-Romaines 1^{ère} salle grande vitrine, pp. 73–112.

Observations sur les travaux qui doivent être faits pour la recherche des objets d'antiquité dans le département de Puy-de-Dôme, par l'Abbé Lacoste, 1824.

Account of the Remains of the Gallic Roman Temple discovered on the summit of the Puy-de-Dôme in 1873, by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, *Archæol. Journ.* Vol. XLVI.

Le Puy-de-Dôme, ses ruines Gallo-Romaines et son Observatoire par Antoine Tillion, avec 6 vues photographiques par l'auteur, 1876.

Le Puy-de-Dôme, ses ruines Mercure et les Matrones, avec carte, plan, photographies et dessins par P.-P. Mathieu, 1876.

Découvertes à Chamalières d'un Denier d'argent de Lothaire, et d'un Cimetière Mérovingien à Saint Mart, par M. Michel Cohendy, 1880.

Un nouveau Cachet d'Oculiste Romain trouvé dans la Commune de Collanges (Puy-de-Dôme), par M. Robert Mowat, 1881.

Dr. A.—E. Plicque, of Lezoux, Étude de Céramique Arverno-Romaine, 1887.

Polyphème, Talisman d'Amour, 1892.

Lug, le Dieu de l'Or, 1892.

Dr. Plicque is a voluminous writer; no less than sixteen publications, chiefly relating to the pottery of Auvergne, are advertised on the cover of the last mentioned pamphlet.

The inquirer should also consult Mr. Roach Smith's Memoir on

Potters' marks discovered in London, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. I., pp. 148-166, Plates L.-LIII., esp. p. 161 sq., "some of the potters' names are decidedly Gaulish." *Ibid.*, vol. VI., pp. 48-75, there is a full account of a discovery of manufactories near Moulins-sur-Allier, and notices of statuettes and other objects in white clay—a material rarely found elsewhere—accompanied by many illustrations.

Lezoux is north-east of Clermont, and near the river Allier, (*Elaver*), which joins the Loire a little below Nevers, so that it was easy to convey the ceramic products of Auvergne by this river to Nantes, and thence to export them to Britain.

In the autumn of 1892 I saw in the Museum of Saint Germain a small bronze head with horns (*cornu*) and short hairs, as of a bull, which is there described as that of a river god. It is numbered 31896, and placed in the centre of Salle XVII., between a bust of Minerva helmeted and a statuette of Mercury winged, wearing the *petasus*, and holding the *crumena* in his right hand. This object was found by Dr. Plicque near Lezoux, and he received for it 3000 francs, having been offered 8000 francs by the Berlin Museum.

Dr. Plicque thinks that we have here a symbol of Achelous, and it corresponds sufficiently with the appearances of that river according to Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, v. 11 seqq.

φοιτῶν ἐναργῆς ταῦρος, ἄλλοτ' αἰόλος
δράκων ἐλικτός, ἄλλοτ' ἀνδρεύς κῦτει
βούπρεπος.

The old reading here was τύπη Βούκρανος, which is found in the MSS., but Strabo, p. 458, lib. X. cap. II., § 19, has the variant given above, which is preferable for the sense. See the notes in the editions of this play by Prof. Campbell, 1881, and Prof. Jebb, 1892. Similarly we find in Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, v. 275, the words πρύμνας σῆμα ταυρόπουον (bull-footed) applied to the river Alpheus.

Comp. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 180 sq., coin of Æniadæ in Acarnania, Rev. ΟΙΝΙΑΔΑΝ, head of man-headed bull, Achelous; Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, European Greece*, p. 79 sq.; *Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection* by Combe, Tab. XL., fig. 15, Text p. 218, where the device is improperly described as *caput Minotauri*.

But Dr. Plicque's attribution cannot be accepted as certain, because the Achelous is not the only river deified with this form (*tauriformis Aufidus*, *Horace, Odes* IV., 14, 25). See Leake, *Op. citat.*, *Sicily and adjoining Islands*, p. 57 sq.; on the coins of Gela we see an andromorphous bull, fore-half or whole, which is the river Gela, and this is proved by water-plants in conjunction with it. *Cf. Virgil, Æneid*, III., 702.

[Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.]

Sic in Heyne's *Virgil* edited by Wagner, to indicate that the line is considered to be spurious, or at least dubious. *Cf. omn. B. V. Head, Op. citat.*, *Manual of Greek Numismatics*, pp. 121-124, figs. 75, 76, rushing man-headed bull, and head of young river-god Gelas. Around are three river fishes, corn-wreath and corn-grains, indicating extraordinary fertility produced by the stream.

Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Antiq. Gr. et Rom.*, Art. Circus, give an engraving of the great Mosaic of the Games at Lyons, together

with some similar ones; fig. 1523, a peculiarity should be observed here, "L'intervalle qui sépare les *metæ*, placées aux deux extrémités, est rempli, non par une construction s'élevant au-dessus de l'arène, mais par deux bassins bordés de murs, formant un carré long." In this excellent article the following figures also especially deserve attention, 1518, Loge du président des jeux; 1520, Cirque, d'après la mosaïque de Barcelone, with inscriptions; 1521, Cirque, d'après le bas-relief Mattei; 1532, presiding magistrate on ivory diptych; 1534, lamp. Bazin, *op. citat.*, p. 327, has a woodcut, "Bordure de la mosaïque des Jeux du Cirque; *ibid.*, p. 380, he describes this beautiful work of art, and concludes by remarking, "C'est un magnifique tableau aux couleurs brillantes, dont le temps n'a pu ternir l'éclat." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 213-215. *Catalogue Sommaire des Musées de la ville de Lyon*, p. 134, full page engraving of the central part of the mosaic. Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, vol. II., tab. LXXIX.

The coins struck by the Romans in Judæa show how carefully they respected the religious feelings of the subject population, which they must have regarded as narrow-minded and superstitious prejudices: cf. *Juvenal*, XIV., 96-106.

Quidam, sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem, &c., and *Persius*, V., 184.

Labra moves tacitus, recutitaque sabbata palles.

For Pilate's money see B. V. Head, *Op. citat.*, p. 684 (γ), Roman procurators of Judæa, A.D. 6-66. Small bronze coins . . . bear, as a rule, the representation of a plant, the name of the reigning emperor and the year of his reign in Greek characters. During the regnal years of Tiberius, 16-18, coins were struck by Pontius Pilate; the year 18 is that of the Crucifixion. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, Plates by Fairholt, 1st edition, Chap. VI, The Procurators, pp. 147-149, nos. 13-16 Pilate. No. 13 may serve as a specimen, obv.

TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC LI Σ, year 16 = A.D. 29, *Simpulum*. Rev. **IOYΛΙΑ KAIZAPOC**. Three ears of corn bound together; A stands for *λυκάβας*, the year: v. *Liddell and Scott's Lexicon*, s.v., and *Eckhel*, *Doct. Num.* Vet., vol. IV, p. 394 sq.; cf. *ibid.*, chap. entitled Numi Alexandrini, pp. 26-98, p. 57, Vespasianus, **ΛΥΚΑΒΑΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ** Æquitas stans. **L. IA**. Avis, cujus caput muliebre loto insignitur . . . Numus prior singularis est propter scriptum plene **ΛΥΚΑΒΑΝΤΟΣ**.

Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, Plate facing p. 341, no. 92. Coin engraved on a larger scale—Pharos at Alexandria; comp. p. 346, L on one side of the tower H on the other indicating the 8th year of the emperor's reign.

Another explanation of the letter L has been proposed in the British Museum Catalogue of Greek coins, Alexandria, 1892, Introduction, § I. Chronology, p. XI, "The symbol L for year is of uncertain origin. It first appears on coins which I (R. S. Poole) have attributed to Ptolemy IV. Philopater, struck in Cyprus, &c. (*Cat. Ptol.*, pp. 62, 63, Pls. Lagidæ XIV., nos. 2-5 . . .) Probably the symbol is a conventional form of the Egyptian sign for year in the demotic character." Cf. *omn.* B. V. Head, *Op. citat.*, p. 718, Greek cities of Egypt. Alexandria, "the symbol L is an Egyptian sign which in papyrus inscriptions stands before numerals, thus **LA, LB, LF**, &c. . . . Occasionally, however, the L is replaced

by the word **ΕΤΟΥΣ**. Note 1. See *Berl. Blätt.*, IV, 145. We may remark that in this series the symbols of heathen mythology are conspicuously absent: Madden, p. 135 sq.

We have seen that traditions about Pilate are connected with the mountain that bears his name in the neighbourhood of Vienne. According to many superstitious legends Mont Pilatus, in the canton Lucerne, also derives its name from the procurator of Judæa. But another explanation has been proposed; some think that the word is only a corruption of *pileatus*, from *pileus*, a cap, and therefore refer its origin to the clouds that gather round the summit. This agrees with a saying common amongst the inhabitants,

Wann Pilatus trägt sein Hut,
Dann wird das Wetter gut.

Murray, *Handbook for Switzerland*, Route 16. But comp. Berlepsch, Schweiz, in *Schmidt's Reisebücher*, edit. 1882, Route 32, p. 121 sq.. Der Pilatus, Die heutige Bezeichnung kommt wohl a. d. Lateinischen von '*pilare*,' d. h. kahl machen,—od. auch v. d. Worte '*pileatus*,' Da er als Wetter-Wahrzeichen für d. Umgebung gilt, so sagt ein altes Volks-Sprüchwort:

Hat Pilatus einen Hut
Wird das Wetter recht und gut,
Hat er aber einen Degen,
So kommt sicher gar bald Regen.

A second biblical personage, and of the same period, also appears in the annals of Vienne—Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod the Great, but only an ethnarch, never having received from the Romans the title of king, though St. Matthew says, ii., 22, Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ; so on the reverse of his coins we read the legend ΕΘΝ (αρχον): Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1st edition, p. 38, note 4. The types are remarkable, exhibiting a trident, prow of a ship, and galley with oars, which probably denote the sovereignty over the sea-ports Cæsarea (Στρατώνιος πύργος) and Joppe, conferred on Archelaus by Augustus: Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, lib. II., cap. VI., § 3: Madden, *Op. citat.*, pp. 91–95, Text and Notes. The Jews complained of his tyranny; he was therefore summoned to Rome, and after the hearing of the case banished to Vienne, where he died. Josephus, *Antiquitates*, lib. XVII., cap. XIII., § 2, Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφικόμενον ἐπὶ τινων κατηγορίων ἀκροᾷται καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν φηγάδα ἐλαύνει, δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Βιένναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπηνέγκαστο. Archelaus is called Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος by Dion Cassius, lib. LV., cap. 27, v. notes edit. Sturz, no. 222, vol. VI., p. 191. Strabo, p. 765, lib. XVI., cap. 2, § 46. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ διετέλεσε, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλόβριξι Γαλάταις λαβὼν οἴκησιν.

In the parable of the pounds—a rendering in the Authorised Version, which has become inaccurate, of *μνᾶ*, mina = about £4—De regnum capessituro servis argentum committente, where our Lord says, Ἀνθρωπὸς τις εὐγενὴς ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακράν, λαβεῖν ἐναντὶ βασιλείαν καὶ ὑποστρέψαι (Luke xix., 12). He is supposed to refer to Archelaus, who went to Rome in order to procure for himself royalty; v. Bloomfield *in loco*.

The following extracts from Eusebius relating to Blandina, will

suffice to prove the extreme cruelty of the persecution in Gaul, which I have mentioned above: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, edit. Heinichen, 1868, lib. V., cap. I., § 18, Ἡ Βλανδίνα τοσαύτης ἐπληρώθη δυνάμειος . . . καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ παραμένειν ἔμπνοον αὐτὴν, παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἐιρ-
 ρωγὸτος καὶ ἡνεωγμένον. § 41, Ἡ δὲ Βλανδίνα ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεῖσα προῦκειτο βορὰ τῶν εἰσβαλλομένων θηρίων. § 56, Καὶ μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας, μετὰ τὰ θηρία, μετὰ τὸ τήγανον (melting-pan), τοῦσχατον εἰς γύργαθον (net) βληθεῖσα ταύρῳ παρεβλήθη, καὶ ἰκανῶς ἀναβληθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ ζῶον, μηδὲ αἰσθησιν ἔτι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων καὶ ὁμιλίαν πρὸς Χριστὸν, ἐτύθη καὶ αὕτη.

Heinichen's excellent edition contains in one volume Prolegomena, a Critical Commentary, and at the end four copious Indexes and Tabula Chronologica.

Bazin, *op. citat.* Lyon antique, chapitre sixième, le Christianisme.

Les Martyrs lyonnais et viennois de l'année 177.—Lettre authentique conservée par Eusèbe. p. 307.

Inscriptions chrétiennes. p. 319.

I have hinted that M. Aurelius, probably for political purposes, attempted to revive the old practices of the popular religion. Whatever his motive was, there can be no doubt as to his conduct: *Augustan History*, edit. Hermann Peter, 1884 (Teubner Series), IIII Julii Capitolini M. Ant. Philosophus, C. 13, § 1, Tantus autem timor belli Marcomannici fuit, ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit retardatusque a bellica profectio sit. celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem dies. The sacrifices of valuable property which the Emperor made on this emergency are recorded, *ibid.*, c. 17, § 4. In foro divi Trajani auctionem ornamentorum imperialium fecit vendiditque aurea pocula et cristallina et murrina, vasa etiam regia et vestem uxoriā sericā et auratā, gemmas quin etiam, quas multas in *repostorio sanctiore* Hadriani reppererat. We find a fact somewhat analogous in the history of Athens. Pericles, encouraging his countrymen to resist the Peloponnesian invasion, mentions the gold ornaments of the statue of Athene in the Parthenon as a part of their resources. *Thucydides* II., 13, ἀπέφαυε ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαρκίοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσίου ἀπέφθον (refined, *aurum recoctum*), καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἔπαν. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστήσαι πάλιν; with references in Goeller's note. Bishop Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. III., p. 121, edit. 1839 (p. 89, edit. 8vo.).

Professor Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-Standards*, p. 211; *ibid.*, p. 220, there is a notice of fragments of inscriptions recently discovered at Athens, relating to the purchase of materials for this statue. V. Memoir by Dr. Ulrich Köhler, Berlin Academy of Science, 1889, and M. Foucart, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hell.* 1889, p. 171. Another parallel is supplied by St. Ambrose; when he was archbishop of Milan "he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate for the redemption of captives": Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. XXVII., vol. III., p. 377, edit. Smith. I heard the learned prelate, cited above, in the House of Lords using this act as a precedent in favour of the proposal to secularize the property of the Established Church in Ireland.

While perambulating foreign cities, we often meet with names that

remind us of antiquity; Vienne has its *Café des Allobroges*, the Gallic tribe of which it was the capital; Marseilles has a *Café Phocéén*, indicating that it was originally a colony founded by Greeks from Asia Minor. So at Budapest we see the *Hotel Pannonia*, at Palermo the *Hotel Trinacria*, and at Spezzia the *Vicolo di Aulo Persio Flacco*.

M. Tony Desjardins in his article, "Le Temple Romain de Vienne en Dauphiné," in the *Congrès Archéol. de France*, XLVI^e Session, 1879, pp. 422-435, with *Héliographe* facing p. 432, disputes the usually received explanation of the Inscription on the façade. P. 425, "Il n'existe que des trous, et tous ceux qui ont voulu les interpréter ont été forcés d'en négliger une partie pour faire concorder le texte de l'inscription qu'ils croyaient pouvoir admettre, avec quelques-uns de ces scellements." He also arrives at the conclusion that the edifice was erected after the Antonine age, *i.e.*, 140-170 A.D., and by second-rate artists under provincial influence, the monuments at Rome of the same epoch being superior in style, and especially in details.

Sainte Colombe, after whom a district of Vienne is named, has been called la première martyre de la Gaule Celtique, but it is doubtful whether she has a just claim to such precedence. According to some accounts she suffered in the persecution under M. Aurelius, according to others, at a later period, under Aurelian, Emperor A.D. 270-275: *Acta Sanctorum*, edit. Bollandists, 7 Martii, tom. II., p. 427, XVII. Kal. Apriles, 16th March, S. Columba. Tres sunt hujus nominis Virgines et Martyres, quarum primaria est Senonensis in Gallia . . . cæsa gladio die XXXI. Decembris. The saint's relics are said to have been preserved in a church at Sens dedicated to her.

Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, bk. II., chap. XLVI., sect. 46, § 121, edit. Sillig, gives an account of the Winds, of which there were originally only four, from the cardinal points; afterwards they became more numerous by subdivision. See the Supplement (*Auctarium*) by Bailey to the English edition of Forcellini, *designatio ventorum ex Gesnero*, a diagram founded on passages cited from Pliny, Vitruvius, Gellius, Apuleius, and Solinus edited by Salmasius and prefixed to his *Plinianæ Exercitationes*. Pliny identifies the Circius with Argestes and Cæcias—the West-North-West wind. His description of it would suit very well for the Mistral (*Murray, Handbook for France, Provence and Languedoc*, Preliminary information, § 2.) Idem in *Narbonensi provincia clarissimus ventorum est circius, nec ullo in violentia inferior, Ostiam plerumque recta (v. l. recto) Ligustico mari perferens, idem non modo in reliquis partibus cœli ignotus, sed ne Viennam quidem ejusdem provinciæ urbem attingens, paucis ante milibus (sc. passuum) jugi modici occurso tantus ille ventorum coercitus*. The shelter thus afforded to Vienne must have been doubtless very favourable to the cultivation of the vine, which the mosaic of Sainte Colombe represents.

See also *Aulus Gellius*, lib. II., cap. 22, edit. Delphin., p. 83, lines 9-15. Favorinus is said to quote from *Cato's Origines*, *Ventus Cercius, cum loquere, buccam implet; armatum hominem, plaustrum oneratum percellit*. *Seneca, Questiones Naturales*, V., 17, *Variorum*

edition (Elzevir), tom. II., p. 777, where this violent wind is praised as being conducive to health. "Galliam Circius (infestat), cui ædificia quassanti, tamen incolæ gratias agunt, tamquam salubritatem cœli sui debeant ei. Divus certe Augustus templum illi, cum in Gallia moraretur, et vovit et fecit. *Pliny*, lib. XVII., cap. II., sect. 2, § 21, edit. Sillig. In Narbonensi provincia atque Liguria et parte Etruriæ contra circium serere imperitia existimatur, eundemque oblicum accipere providentia; is namque æstates ibi temperat, sed tanta plerumque violentia ut auferat tecta.

I have already noticed rustic calendars, *menologia*, Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatæ*, explains the religious use of the same term, *Μηνολόγιον*, Liber ecclesiasticus Græcorum, qui Latinis vulgo Martyrologium dicitur, in quo Sanctorum vitæ quolibet die per tot annos summatim exponuntur, vel certe nomina recitantur, ex quo non semel quæ ibi habentur in *Μηναία* referuntur. Comp. Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art by its Monuments*, vol. III., Painting, Pl. XXXI., Scelta di diversi soggetti dipinti in miniatura nel greco Menologio della Biblioteca Vaticana IX. Secolo. This MS. contains 430 miniatures, Pls. XXXII., XXXIII., Miniature lucidate sopra l'originale.

A good illustration of *utricularii* is supplied by the engravings in Dr. Fr. Kaulen's *Assyrien und Babylonien nach den neuesten Entdeckungen*, 1882, pp. 8, 9, Fig. 2, Kelek oder Schlauchfloss auf dem Tigris (Nach Place); Fig. 3, Herrichtung der Schläuche zu einem Floss; assyrisches Relief aus Khorsabad (Nach Place); Fig. 4, Schlauchfloss auf einem assyrischen Relief in Khorsabad (Nach Place). (*Op. citat.* is described, *ibid.*, Litteratur, p. 214.) Here we see the skins placed under the rafts, which justifies the use of the word *subjicere* by De Vit, *Lexicon*, s.v. Comp. Sir A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 5th edition, vol. I., chap. V., p. 129, Bas-reliefs, "Three warriors, probably escaping from the enemy, were swimming across the stream; two of them on inflated skins, in the mode practised to this day by the Arabs inhabiting the banks of the rivers of Assyria and Mesopotamia; except that, in the bas-relief, the swimmers were pictured as retaining the aperture, through which the air is forced, in their mouths." Vol. II., Part II., woodcut intercalated in p. 381, a boat carrying a chariot and men floating on inflated skins. Bazin, p. 106, "Les outres qu'ils fabriquaient avec des peaux de bouc servaient aux différents usages du transport des liquides et de la navigation," and Inscription," note 4; Hirschfeld, No. 1815.

Livy, book XXI., chap. 27, in his account of Hannibal's passage of the Rhone, informs us that the Spaniards put their clothes into leather bags (*in utres vestimentis conjectis*), and leaning on their shields (*caetris*) placed under them swam across the stream. The *caetra* also was made of hide. *Servius on Virgil, Æneid*, VII., 732, vol. III., p. 236, in Burmann's edition of this author; and references in Forbiger's note. *Cæsar, De Bello Civili*, I., 48, Lusitani, peritique earum regionum caetrati ceterioris Hispaniæ, consecabantur . . . consuetudo eorum omnium est ut sine utribus ad exercitum non eant.

In Gruter, p. CCCCXIII., No. 4, p. CCCCXVIII., No. 10, and

Spon, Miscellanea Erudite Antiquitatis, p. 61, a syncopated form of *utricularius* occurs; the last inscription is as follows:

COLLEGIO VTRICLAR
C. IVL. CATVLINVS DON. POS.

Short syllables were often dropped by the Romans, sometimes in writing as in *vincla* for *vincula*, *saecla* for *saecula*; e.g., *Virgil, Eclogue IV.*, 5,

Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo,

and very frequently in pronunciation, which the metres of the Comic poets prove, for in many lines there can be no proper rhythm unless the principle of contraction is applied. Such words as *familia* and *mulieres*, that appear to be quadrisyllables, are in fact only trisyllables, and the first vowel always has the accent. See the editions of *Plautus* by Fleckeisen and *Terence* by Bentley, and Prof. Key's Essay on Terentian Metres, included in his book on the *Alphabet*, § I., p. 143 seq.; in the latter page Hermann De Re Metrica is cited.

C. I. L., vol. XII., Nos. 729, 731, 733; commercium Arelatensium, *ibid.* p. 83. Strabo IV., 1, § 6, p. 181, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ῥοδανῷ πόλιν ἐστὶ καὶ ἑμπορίον οὐ μικρόν, Ἀρελάτῃ.

To this volume of the *Corpus* excellent maps by Kiepert are appended, which contain modern as well as ancient names, and will be very useful to those who study the monuments of Southern Gaul. Places are indicated where Latin inscriptions have been found: Tabula I. Gallia Narbonensis a sinistra Rhodani; II. Vallis Rhodani inferior; III. Gallia Narbonensis inter Rhodanum et Garumnam.

Vienne is so near Lyons and so closely connected with it in history, both sacred and profane, that a digression concerning a curious object, preserved in the latter city, may perhaps be allowed here. Mons. Dissard, *Conservateur* of the Museum, showed me a medallion commemorating the colonization of Lugdunum by Munatius Plancus, made of grey terra-cotta—an unusual colour. Upon it are represented the founder, behind whom there seems to be the end of a pick-axe (*dolabra*), and facing him the Genius of the colony. The medallion is fragmentary, but, judging from other examples, in the lower part of it there was a raven between these two figures. The Genius has a countenance almost feminine, and hair arranged in long twisted curls; he wears a short mantle thrown behind and a shoulder-belt made of oval links, and holds a spear surmounted by a knob.

MANTISSIMO CO
HABEAS
PROPTIVM
CAESARE

Expand thus, *Genio amantissimo Coloniae*; and add *m* to *Cæsare*.

Plancus speaks the first line, the rest is the reply of the Genius. As the words would not suit the date of the original foundation of the colony B.C. 43, they have been supposed to refer to a second *deductio*, composed of veteran legionaries. At a later period the legend OPTIME AVE—FELICITER seems to have been substituted for that given above. The raven may be explained as an omen of abundance, which agrees with the titles of the city in Inscriptions, *Copia Claudia Augusta*.

Among the insignia of the augur's office the raven appears, and we have numerous examples in the coins of the triumvir Marc Antony : v. *Cohen, Médailles Consulaires*, Pls. III. and IV., nos. 12-16, Text, p. 25 sq. Or the bird in the medallion may allude to the usual name of the city ; v. *Plutarchi Moralia*, edit. Wytttenbach, Oxon., tom. V., pars. II., p. 1006, *Περὶ Ποταμῶν*, De Fluminibus, cap. VI., Arar § IV. He relates that when the foundations were being laid, ravens appeared, spread out their wings, and filled the trees ; hence the place was named Lugdunum, from *lugus*, a raven, and *dunum*, an eminence (*ἐξέχοντα*), the Celtic town having been built on the hill (Fourvières) that overhangs the modern city.

This etymology does not now meet with general approbation ; but if the ancients accepted it, as they did many fanciful, and even absurd, derivations, they might be disposed to repeat it in ceramic art. Plutarch refers to Cleitophon, a Rhodian writer, as his authority, and the whole section cited above is given at length by Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, vol. I., p. 64, note* ; he says, "locum munitum proprie significat vox celtica *dūn* (pp. 29, 30) non *eminentem locum* (legend. *τόπον ἐξέχοντα* ?) vel *montem* ; suntque etiam oppida quædam eadem voce denominata non in monte sed in planitie sita e. gr. Lupodunum, Camulodunum, etc." (Colchester.) The latter place is not well chosen to support his explanation of *dunum*, for the Roman town, like the present one, stood on rising ground.

On the other hand, Dr. A.-E. Plicque in his dissertation entitled *Lug le Dieu de l'Or les Gaulois*, § III., Le Dieu Lug—Son Histoire, pp. 24-28, maintains that the figure, usually described as Plancus, is a Gallo-Roman peasant, who holds in his left hand the charter of foundation of the colony, and with his right presents a cup and ears of corn, symbolizing the fruit of his labours. It must be admitted that the costume favours this supposition, for the man wears trowsers (*bracæ*) that do not fit closely, as we might expect in an inhabitant of Gallia Narbonensis, which was also called Bracata. In the Trajan Column Roman officers and soldiers have these garments short and tight, but the Dacians or Sarmatians, long and loose : v. Fabretti, *Colonna Trajana*, Tav. I., no. 29, *Subligar*, veste dall' umbilico oltre le ginocchia, assettata e stretta piu de' calzoni : Froehner on the same monument, p. 66, quatre soldats vêtus d'un pantalon collant ; p. 75, le pantalon qui laisse les mollets à nu, and Index, s.v. *Dict. of Antiqq.*, 3rd edition, s.v. *Bracæ*, p. 314 sq., with three woodcuts, one from a mosaic of the battle of Issus, preserved at Naples in the Museo Nazionale (formerly Borbonico). Cf. the fine coloured plate in *Overbeck's Pompeii*, vol. II., p. 225, Die Alexanderschlacht. Evidently this change was made in the Roman uniform on account of the colder climate into which that war-like emperor led his troops.

Daremberg et Saglio, tome I., p. 746, have an excellent article on BRACAE, BRACCAE (*ἀναξίριδες, βράκες, θύλακοι, περισκελή*), notes 1-12, containing references to Greek, Latin, French and Danish authors. The illustrations are judiciously selected—fig. 873, Soldat romain (Colonne Trajane) ; fig. 874, Soldats romains (Arc de Constantin). The author, E. Saglio, points out that in the latter case the bas-relief is not, like some others, detached from a building of Trajan's time but contemporaneous with the erection of the Arch. It exhibits

trowsers extending down to the ankles. *Conf. ibid.*, Art. BARBARI, § III., pp. 673–676, figs. 790–798.

It is just possible that Planco, versatile both in politics and in dress, may have adopted this costume, as in Egypt he presented an appearance far more unbecoming a Roman of high rank, dancing on the stage and playing the part of the sea-god Glaucus in curt cerulean vestments, crowned with the feathery heads of the papyrus, and deformed with the tail of a fish. *Merivale's History*, vol. III., p. 290. *Velleius Paterculus*, edit. Orelli, lib. II., cap. LXXXIII., § 2; edit., Lipsius, folio, printed by Plantin, Antverpiæ, 1607, p. 58. But *caeruleatus*, *loc. citat.*, might perhaps mean that he painted himself of a dark blue colour, to look like a marine deity. However, the face of the figure in the medallion is provincial, and different from the type which we are accustomed to see in statues, busts and family coins.

Bazin, *Villes Gallo-Romaines*, Lyon Antique, Introduction historique, §§ 1–3, pp. 188–190, sketches the character of Planco, and relates the circumstances under which he founded the colony of Lugdunum, with a copy of the Inscription on his tomb still existing at Gæta, note 1, p. 190.

It ends with the words COLONIAS. DEDVXIT. LVGV DVNVM. ET. RAVRICAM. The latter is also called Augusta Rauracorum, hodie Augst, near Basle. Comp. Dan. Bruckner, *Versuch einer Beschreibung historischer und natürllicher Merkwürdigkeiten der Landschaft Basel*. XXIII. Stück. Augst. 1763, with many woodcuts intercalated in the Text, v. esp. p. 2669, and *Antiquitatum Tabulæ* I.–XXVI. at the end. Cf. Mittheilungen der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel. Neue Folge II. Das römische Theater zu Augusta Raurica von Th. Bueckhardt-Biedermann, mit 5 Abbildungen, 4to, 1882; and Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, Zehnter Band, 1854, *Inscriptiones Confœderationis Helveticæ*, edidit Theodorus Mommsen, § XXV., nos. 276–308, “quæ ad hanc urbem ejusque agrum pertinent.” *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XLII., pp. 195–197, my Paper on Roman Antiquities in Switzerland, and Ink-Photo of the Roman theatre at Augst, facing p. 196.

The raven above-mentioned in the medallion is perched upon rocks, probably representing the acropolis of Lugdunum. This agrees with Strabo's description of the site: p. 192, lib. IV., c. III., § 2, Λούγγουνον, ἐκτισμένον ὑπὸ λόφῳ, κατὰ κῆν συμβολὴν τῶν τε “Ἀραῶς ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανῶν,” “on a slope beneath the brow of a hill,” where Merivale, (*op. citat.*, vol. IV., p. 91, note 1), proposes to read ἐπὶ λόφῳ; cf. *ibid.* p. 208, c. VI., § 11, τὸ δὲ Λούγγουνον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις.

In addition to passages already cited concerning Flamens and their wives the following deserve attention: *Aulus Gellius*, *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. X., cap. 15, of which the title is De flaminis Dialis deque flaminicæ cærimoniis, p. 281, edit. Delph.; regulations imposed upon the latter were, quod venenato (dyed robe) operitur, et quod in rica (veil thrown over the head) surculum de arbore felici habet; et quod scalas, nisi quæ Græce κλίμακες appellantur, escendere ei plus tribus gradibus religiosum est (forbidden), lect. dub.; the object must have been to prevent her ankles from being seen. *Smith's Dict. of Antt.*, 3rd edition, vol. I., p. 866.

Paulli Diaconi Excerpta ex Libro Pompeii Festi, De Significatione Verborum, lib. VI, edit. K. O. Müller, p. 93 (69). Flaminia† dicebatur sacerdotula, quæ Flaminicæ Diali præministrabat, eaque patrimes et matrimes erat, *i.e.*, patrem matremque adhuc vivos habebat: see the editor's note; some word is omitted, perhaps we ought to read Flaminia camilla.

Members of this sacerdotal class frequently occur in provincial Inscriptions, *e.g.* C. I. L., vol. II., Hispania, Index, Res sacrae, p. 761, s.v. flamen, coloniae, municipii, provinciae, Augustalis, divi Augusti, Romæ divorum et Augustorum, &c. The flaminica has similar titles. Flamonium means the dignity of a flamen, flaminium is another form of the word, and we find, but rarely, flaminatus. Some give the derivation from flare, to blow up a fire, which would apply to a sacrificing priest: *Dict. of Antt., loc. citat.* C. I. L., vol. XII, Gallia Narbonensis, Index E, Sacerdotes regionum et municipiorum, p. 928. Comparatively few substantives have the same suffix as flaminica; for a list of those ending in *ica* and *ica* see Dawson and Rushton's *Terminational Latin Dictionary*, p. 6.

I exhibited a copper coin of Vienne, which is not rare and expensive, but interesting. It bears on the obverse the head of Julius Cæsar deified (DIVI) and of Augustus (DIVI F), with the letters IMP over them; and on the reverse a palace and the prow of a galley, with the legend C. I. V. The building here represented may perhaps be the same as the Palais du Miroir at Vienne, and that to which Sidonius Appollinaris alludes in his Epistles, VII., 12, addressed Domino Papæ Mamerto, mentioned above as bishop of this city, where he says, "Nam modo scaenae moenium publicorum crebris terræ motibus concutiebantur." The recent editor, Baret, compares the words of Avitus, aedes publica . . . sublimitas in immensum fastigiata. I quote them because they correspond so closely with the device on the coin. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. I., p. 71, remarks that the faces on the obverse are turned away from each other, *occipite opposito* (like Janus), and that this arrangement is frequent only in the coins of Gallic cities, *e.g.*, at Nemausus (Nîmes), where we see the heads of Augustus laureated, and of Agrippa wearing the *corona rostrata*, on account of his naval victories, similarly placed: *cf.* Eckhel, *ubi supra*, p. 69. His description, however, is very imperfect, and he does not even mention the palace on the reverse. The omission will not surprise the intelligent reader, for he would have observed that the learned writer, who might justly be called the Father of Numismatic Science, has not paid the same attention to Spain and Gaul as he has to Greece and Italy. See Duchalais, *Description des Médailles Gauloises*, &c., Paris, 1846, Preface, p. II., sq. In this case the later author is more satisfactory: Reverse, "Proue de navire mâtee et surmontée d'une tour à plusieurs étages: l'oculus de la proue est bien distinct"; *ibid.*, p. 19, no. 35. Phaselis affords many good examples of the eye in the prow of a galley: *Hunter's Catalogue*, pl. XLIII., figs. 8-12; Head, *op. citat.*, pp. 578-580. The prow is fashioned like the fore-part of a boat. See also my Paper on Trèves and Metz, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XLVI., p. 223 sq., text and notes, the same feature may be observed in blocks of sandstone carved to represent two boats laden with wine casks, found at Noviomagus (Neumagen).

The letters C. I. V. were supposed by Hardouin and Vaillant to mean Colonia Julia Valentia, in Spain; but there can be no doubt that we should read V = Vienna, which we know to have been a colony from *Pliny, Nat. Hist.* lib. III, cap. IV, sect. 5, § 366. In *mediterraneo coloniæ Arelate sextanorum . . . in agro Cavarum Valentia, Vienna Allobrogum.* Cf. Mionnet, *Gaule Narbonnaise*, no. 199. His great work, notwithstanding many defects, still remains indispensable to the numismatist. Bazin, *op. citat.*, p. 9, Introduction historique, has engraved the coin described above, and money of the Allobroges. For the latter see *Duchalais*, p. 18 sq.; and Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois ou les Gaulois d'après leur Médailles*, Part I. Pl. 99, no. 3, Hippocampe with "appendice trifide terminal" (cf. Pl. 68, no. 2), médaille d'argent qui se trouve sur les bords du lac Léman. Cf. text, p. 24. He calls attention to the differences that distinguish Greek or Roman art reflected amongst the Allobroges from the art purely Gallic amongst the Redones of Armorica and the Mediomatrices (Metz).

Rollin and Feuardent's priced Catalogue of Médailles de la Gaule, p. 5, divides the Allobroges into two classes—*mon-tagnards* with the chamois of the Alps on the reverse, and *des bords du Léman* with hippocamp. The former type is well executed, and of course very appropriate; the latter, a fabulous animal—a combination of horse and fish—may perhaps allude to the Lake of Geneva.

In the Epistle of Sidonius, quoted above, a glowing eulogium is pronounced on the piety of Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, and the zeal he displayed on behalf of his flock when they were afflicted by great calamities. It was written while the Gothic invaders were causing a panic throughout Gaul, and mentions the institution of Rogation Days by this prelate, solo tamen invectarum, te auctore, rogationum palpamur auxilio. The superscription of the letter contains the title Papa, which in Christian writers is equivalent to *Episcopus*, *Antistes* or *Præsul*: Ducange, s.v. Papa, Papias nomen . . . promiscue olim datum Episcopis, quos nude Papas vocabant; it may remind us of *παπᾶς*, a priest, in modern Greek, which is possibly connected with the Hebrew word *ʾΑββᾶ* in St. Mark xiv., 36, *ʾΑββᾶ ὁ πατήρ, πάντα ὑννάτά σοι. παρένεγκε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.* Cf. Romans viii, 15, and Galatians iv., 6, where the word seems to be used as a sign of affection. See *Alford's Commentary*. H. Stephanus (Estienne), *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*, Didot's edition, vol. I., pars I., col. 52, Article *ʾΑββᾶ*, vide infra *Ἄππα*, which is nearer the Latin Papa: *ibid.* pars II., col. 1808, cf. vb. *παπνάζω* to call any one papa. *ʾΑββᾶ* does not find place in *Liddell and Scott's Lexicon*.

Any account of the antiquities at Vienne would be incomplete were the cathedral omitted: it is said to be the finest Gothic building in Dauphiné, and occupies a commanding position, in a line with the bridge. "La façade, la partie la plus belle . . . s'élève majestueusement, près du Rhône, sur une terrasse que borde une balustrade de style ogival flamboyant." Joanne, *Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse*, Route 1, p. 5, edition 1877. The local antiquary Chorier, who published his *Recherches sur les Antiquités de la ville de Vienne, Metropole des Allobroges, capitale de l'Empire Romain dans les Gaules et des deux Royaumes de Bourgogne*, in 1658, like most writers of that class, is too enthusiastic, and praises the architecture

extravagantly—"Ce superbe et royal édifice, qui peut entrer en une juste comparaison avec tout ce que la France a de plus magnifique"; p. 190, edit Cochard, 1828. He describes the Cathedral, and gives many curious details concerning monuments therein. Livre Troisième, chaps. II.-XI. and XIII., pp. 190-251, with full-page engraving facing p. 221. It was commenced at the close of the 12th century and finished in 1515, and is dedicated to Saint Maurice. I obtained a good photograph from a local artist, M. Terrier, of the Cours Brillier, Vienne.

Bazin devotes pp. 128-133 to Christian Inscriptions at Vienne, subjoining in foot-notes numerous references to Le Blant, Allmer and Hirschfeld. The first of these authorities will probably supply the English reader with all the information he requires, I therefore append the titles of some of his works :

Edmond Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule, antérieures au huitième siècle*. Paris, 1856-1865, in 4°.

————— *Nouveau Recueil des inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule, antérieures au huitième siècle*, 1892, in 4°.

————— *L'Épigraphie Chrétienne en Gaule et dans l'Afrique Romaine*, 1890, with indexes, especially for Bibliography, and five Plates.

————— *Étude sur les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, 1878, folio; v. esp. Introduction, § 5, Les Bas-reliefs des Sarcophages Chrétiens et les Liturgies funéraires, and p. 27, parfois les épitaphes des Sarcophages étaient peintes et non gravées, and Table des Matières at end of the volume.

This class of Inscriptions abounds in grammatical errors, e.g., surrictura, tomolo, morebus, plus menus, bone memorie, que for quæ, virgenales, vixet, transeit for transiit. Comp. Westropp, *Manual of Archæology*, pp. 395-406, esp. p. 398, χοιματήριον is printed incorrectly for κοιμητήριον, properly a sleeping-room, with the secondary meaning, burial-place, *ibid.* p. 395 note.

No. 2104 in C. I. L., vol. XII. is No. 274, p. 273 in Delorme, *Description du Musée de Vienne*, Pierre tumulaire; it ends with the words

SVRRICTVRA CVM
DIES DNI ADVENERIT

No. 2111 is in Chorier, edit. Cochard, p. 178, and has a similar termination,

SVRG DIE COELO CVM
VENERIT AVTHOR

No. 2090 is in Chorier, p. 55, and is dated,

P. C BASILI. V. C. CONS.
INDICTIONE QVARTA DECIMA.

For the use of the term indiction (a period of fifteen years) v. Gibbon, vol. II, p. 333, note *a* in Smith's edition.

I have added the foregoing references to smaller publications, because the volumes of the *Corpus* are cumbrous folios, expensive and not easily accessible.

Besides symbols peculiar to the Christian creed, and subjects derived from narratives of the Old and New Testament, belief in the Resurrection and hope of immortality, frequently expressed on these sepulchral monuments, are characteristics that distinguish them from those of Pagan origin.

The first inscription given by Bazin, *loc. citat.*, belongs to the reign of Valentinian III. and the year A.D. 441; it is in the Greek language, and may be regarded as proving how far the civilization of that people had extended. Comp. C. I. Gr., vol. III., p. 1035, Nos. 6782, 6783, Viennæ Allobrogum. They therefore corroborate the evidence supplied by coins. Marseilles was the chief centre from which Hellenic influence radiated through Southern Gaul. The beautiful drachmæ of that city, and the barbarous imitations are well exhibited in *Hunter's Catalogue*, pp. 190-194, Tab. XXXVI., figs. 1-18. Similarly, money of Rhoda (Rosas) and Emporiæ (Castillo de Ampurias, near Gerona) was copied by tribes north of the Pyrenees: Heiss, *Description générale des Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, Rhoda, p. 84 sq., Monnayage grec. Pl. I., figs. 1-3. Imitations Gauloises, Pl. I., figs. 4-9, showing the successive stages of degeneracy; *ibid.*, pp. 86-102, Pls. I. and II. F. De Saulcy, *Lettres à M. A. De Longpérier*, Extrait de la Revue Numismatique, Nouvelle Série, tome III., 1858, No. XXV., Monnaies gauloises, dites à la croix ou à la roue, with Plates at end of the volume. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, &c., Part I., p. 21 sq. Pl. 101, No. 3; Part II., pp. 112-121, figs. 181-194, intercalated in the text. For the great hoard of coins found at Auriol, 28 kilomètres from Marseilles, on the road from that city to Aix, see the *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, by MM. Muret and Chabouillet, Nos. 1-473, Trésor d'Auriol (Bouches-du-Rhône), and accompanying Atlas des Monnaies Gauloises. . . . publié par M. Henri de la Tour, 1892. The engravings of the *trouvaille* occupy the whole of Plate I., which is a folio page; they are admirably executed.

In these coins we find a great diversity of types—25 altogether, heads of deities—Diana, Venus, Minerva, Pan and Hercules:—also of beasts—wild boar, bull, lion and ram—and birds—eagle, stork, &c. They appear to be imitated from the symbols used by cities of Greece and Asia Minor, and may perhaps indicate a federal union for commercial purposes. *Op. citat.*, pp. 7-9, with footnote 2 on p. 9, referring to the writings of MM. Chabouillet, Blancard and Laugier, and Hucher; Pls. II., III. and IV. contain the money of Marseilles. The connection with Greece which we see in the Trésor d'Auriol corresponds with Church History, for it should be remembered that Christianity was first introduced into Gallia Narbonensis by missionaries who spoke Greek. So the Epistle from the faithful at Vienna and Lugdunum, relating the persecution under M. Aurelius, is addressed to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia: Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. V., cap. 1, § 3.

However, another proof of Greek influence, and that too very different in kind, may be adduced. Even the careless traveller, as he walks through the narrow and winding streets of Arles, must have observed the extraordinary beauty of the women, especially of the humbler classes which were less liable to intermixture with foreign elements; but the antiquary will not fail to recognize in their

features the refinement which he has admired in the arts of Greece—in statues, busts, medals and gems.

The *Journal de Vienne*, 18 May, 1892, contains an article by M. Cornillon in the *Feuilleton*, "Découverte Archéologique." Workmen, making a channel to convey water from the brook St. Vincent to the Rhone, laid bare an old Roman road which the writer calls *Via Domitia*; but I am inclined to think this is a misnomer, and that the road named after Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Consul B.C. 122, was carried only through regions south of Vienne: C. I. L., vol. XII., pp. 666–682, 1. *Arelate Nemausum*, 2. *Nemauso Narbonem*, 3. *Narbone ad fines Hispaniæ*, 4. *Narbone Tolosam*. V. esp. the copious Introduction, p. 666 sq., where many references to Strabo and other writers will be found.

Cicero pro M. Fonteio, c. IV., §§ 7, 8, edit. Orelli, vol. II., Pt. I., p. 398, *quum ad rempublicam pertineret, viam Domitiam muniri, legatis suis, primariis viris, C. Annio Bellieno et C. Fonteio negotium dedit*. The whole paragraph deserves attention as it shows the care bestowed by the Roman government on their highways, chiefly no doubt to maintain their military communications. The phrase *Munire viam* also indicates a martial nation, the verb literally meaning to fortify. Inscriptions in the Pyrenees bear witness to the pains they took to keep the roads in good repair: my Paper on Antiquities in the South-West of France. *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XXXVI., § II.

Ahenobarbus above mentioned defeated the Allobroges, B.C. 121, near the confluence of the Sulga (*hodie* Sorgue) and the Rhone, a little north of Avignon: *Livy, Epitome*, Lib. LXI., Cn. Domitius proconsul adversus Allobrogas ad oppidum Vindalium feliciter pugnavit. *Velleius Paternulus*, lib. II., p. 26, edit. Lipsius (Plantin), *Eodem tractu temporum et Domitii ex Arvernīs, et Fabii ex Allobrogibus victoria fuit nobilis*.

The Roman road at Vienne, a fragment of which is described by M. Cornillon, was supposed to be the same as that called *Via magna* in the Middle Ages, which has been corrupted into Vimagne or Vimaine—the latter name still remains for the modern street south of the Champ-de-Mars (Bazin, *Plan Archéologique de Vienne, op. citat.*, p. 176). See M. Mermet's treatise, *Rapport sur les Monuments Remarquables de l'Arrondissement de Vienne, contenant les Réponses à une série de questions proposées par l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1829; but this opinion has been disputed by MM. Allmer and De Terrebasse. The newly discovered portion is 10 mètres wide, and formed of blocks of granite cut in irregular polygons; stones 30 centimètres high are placed on both sides to assist travellers mounting on horseback, "without the aid of a groom (*ἀναβαλεὺς*, cf. *Xenophon, Anabasis*, IV., 4, 4) to hoist them up." *Dict. of Antiqq.*, 2nd edition, p. 1193. M. Cornillon also enumerates remains of buildings and fine mosaics—the result of excavations in the city from 1840 to 1859.

I have noticed this article partly because it may remind succeeding travellers of the advantage to be derived from local publications that supply accounts of recent discoveries; they may be sometimes inaccurate; but, as a rule, they will not fail to be suggestive.

M. Mermet's brochure is important as it gives us additional information not contained in the works previously cited, concerning

monuments *outside* Vienne—a Menhir, Tumuli, Roman roads and milestones (pierres milliaires), feudal castles (chateaux-forts), &c.

I have made free use of M. Bazin's *Vienne Antique* and M. Lafaye's article on the Mosaïque de Saint-Romain-en-Gal in the *Revue Archéologique*, Mai-Juin, 1892; and I now desire to take this opportunity of expressing my grateful acknowledgments to M. Dissard, Conservateur of the Lyons Museum, and M. Cornillon, Archiviste at Vienne, for their kind assistance and valuable indications which would otherwise have escaped my attention.

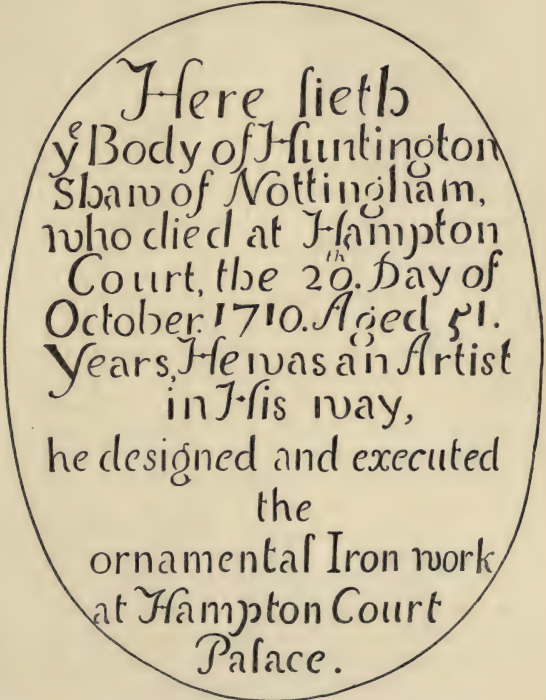
NOTES ON HUNTINGTON SHAW, BLACKSMITH, HIS
REPUTED WORK, HIS TOMB FORMERLY AT HAMP-
TON, MIDDLESEX, AND IRONWORK FROM THE
RAILING OF THE SAME.

By R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A.

In consequence of the revival of the taste for wrought ironwork which has taken place during the past few years, any new facts relating to former craftsmen in that art have a more than ordinary interest. The name of Huntington Shaw, commonly called "of Nottingham," although he resided for at least the last ten years of his life in the parish of St. James, Westminster, has been associated with the production of the ornamental ironwork made in the seventeenth century for Hampton Court Palace, and more particularly so since the removal of specimens of it in the year 1865 to the South Kensington Museum, which now are severally labelled as "Wrought Iron Screen, designed by Jean Tijou about 1693, and probably wrought by Huntington Shaw, of Nottingham, from Hampton Court Palace."

In the summer of 1893, I purchased at Ramsgate some very pretty wrought iron interlaced initials that had once formed part of the railing in front of Huntington Shaw's tomb, formerly in the churchyard of Hampton, Middlesex, and it was the acquisition of these that led to the present inquiry. Before describing this ironwork, reviewing the evidence proving its authenticity, and tracing its history until it came into my hands, I have thought it best to give an account of what I have been able to ascertain respecting Shaw and his family. Of his tomb and its destruction I propose to treat later on. The monumental

inscription to his memory, as it may still be read in Hampton Church, is as follows :—



Here lieth
y^e Body of Huntington
Shaw of Nottingham,
who died at Hampton
Court, the 20.th Day of
October 1710. Aged 51.
Years. He was an Artist
in his way,
he designed and executed
the
ornamental Iron work
at Hampton Court
Palace.

Although he is called of Nottingham, which was the place of his birth, it does not appear that he had any business connection with that town, and there seems every probability that his blacksmith's shop from the year 1700 until his death, was in Frances Street, in the parish of St. James, Westminster; still being called on his monument, "of Nottingham," he has been supposed, and with some show of reason, to have been of that town, blacksmith. The label issued with a large photograph of a "Portion of a wrought iron screen from Hampton Court Palace," published by the Science and Art Depart-

ment, South Kensington Museum, states that the same is "attributed to Huntington Shaw, blacksmith, of Nottingham. Date about 1695." A search made for me in the register of baptisms at St. Mary's, Nottingham, from 1653 to 1663, by Mr. F. Johnson, parish clerk, failed to discover any trace of the name. I then applied to the Rev. George Edgcome, the rector of St. Peter's in that town, who very kindly searched his registers, marriages, baptisms, and burials 1573 to 1663, which resulted in his finding the record of Shaw's birth and baptism, thus :— "Huntington Shaw, y^e sonne of John Shaw & Sarah his wife was borne June 26th, and baptized July 8th, 1660." Two or three other entries of the name of Shaw occurred during the period searched, but they do not appear to refer to the Blacksmith's family. Mr. G. Harry Wallis, F.S.A., Director and Curator of the Nottingham Museum and Art Gallery, who has taken some interest in Shaw, having one of the screens removed from Hampton Court in his custody, was good enough to write in reply to my inquiries, that "nothing beyond the register of baptism has ever been found respecting Huntington Shaw, in Nottingham or neighbourhood," and he added "we have no information in Nottingham, with regard to Shaw beyond what you know." Notwithstanding that I made a protracted search amongst the Shaw wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and in the London Courts, &c., I failed to discover the will of his father or mother, or even that of any testator who appeared to be a relation. With reference to "Huntington" as a christian name, Mr. C. E. Gildersome Dickinson, who has examined the parish register of St. Mary's, Nottingham, informs me that the almost identical name of "Huntingdon" is of fairly common occurrence in it as a christian name, which he suggests may owe its origin to Huntington Plumtre, J.P., a celebrated physician of Nottingham, who died in 1660; he also found in the register of Shelford, near that town, the marriage recorded on July 5, 1631, of a "Huntington Aeare and Mary Fox."

Shaw was at the time of his death, according to both his will and the Probate Act book, of the parish of St. James, Westminster, although it appears from his monumental inscription that he "died at Hampton Court." I

was fortunate enough, as the result of a search in the poor rate books of St. James, Westminster, which commence in 1685, to find several new facts relating to Shaw, amongst others the precise position of his residence, and doubtless of his workshop also, from the year 1700 until the time of his death, and my thanks are due to Mr. T. Hensman Munsey, vestry clerk, for giving me facilities for inspecting these records. From them it appears that Shaw's premises were in the centre of three that formed the west side of Frances Street; this street was one of those in the "North East Division" of the parish. It appears from old maps now preserved in the Vestry Hall, that Frances Street was the short one north of Glasshouse Street (the western end of which was then called Marybone Street), and south of Brewer Street, and it formed the eastern side of the triangle made by the meeting of those two streets a little more to the west; it is now merged into and forms the northern end of Air Street, Regent Street. Shaw's premises having been those in the centre, they must have occupied the site of what is now No. 17, Air Street. His name does not occur in the rate book for 1697, nor under Frances Street in the books for 1695 and 1699, but in the one for the year 1700 his name is entered as (*blank*) "Shaw," and his rate as eight shillings. As he was a new ratepayer, probably his christian name had not been ascertained. Unfortunately neither the assessment nor the amount in the pound of the rates, is given in any of the books. In 1701, under "Frances Street, West Side," his name again occurs as (*blank*) Shaw, the amount of the rate being the same. In 1702 his name under "Frances Street, West Side," is correctly entered as "Huntington Shaw," his neighbours, who frequently changed, were at that time Matt. Jones on one side, and John Cooling on the other, their rate was twelve shillings and four shillings respectively. In the third column of the rate-books, which is supposed to contain the arrears or amounts excused and those lost in consequence of empty premises, Jones is credited with half his rate, and against the name of Huntington Shaw the sum of eight shillings occurs in all the three columns, but that in the second or third may be a mistake. In 1703 and 1704 his name is properly entered under the

same street, and with a like amount for the rate, but in the former year it would seem he paid only six shillings and was in arrear two. In 1705 he is entered as "Mr. Shaw," in 1706 as "Huntⁿ Shaw," and in 1707 again as "Huntington Shaw." His name appears in these three books under "Frances Street, West Side" as before; the amount of the rate is the same and no arrears. The rate-books are missing, 1708 to 1716. It is clear that his premises could not have been large for many other parishioners paid considerably higher sums. It is worth noting that administration of the goods, &c., of a "John Shaw, late of St. James, Westminster, deceased," was granted in the Archdeaconry Court of Middlesex, on January 7, 1694-5, to Susanna Dale aunt, and curatrix lawfully assigned, to John Shaw, William Shaw, and Ann Shaw, minors, children of the said deceased, and a *de bonis non* grant was made on June 21, 1704, to Daniel Andrews, curator lawfully assigned to said William Shaw, a minor, who is called in the act, "lawful son of John Shaw, late of St. James, Westminster, widower, deceased." From the rate-books of that parish, it also appears that a "John Shaw" paid a rate of eight shillings per annum, several years previously to, and as late as 1705, in respect of premises situated on the west side of Well Street, which street is entered in the books immediately preceding Frances Street, but I have not any evidence proving a connection between these persons and "The Blacksmith."

Shaw died at Hampton Court October 20, 1710, aged 51, and was buried at Hampton. I was able by the courtesy of the Rev. R. Digby Ram, vicar of Hampton, to search that parish register, but unfortunately a hiatus occurs from 1703 to 1723, and there is not any reference to Shaw at or about the time of his death amongst the burials in the parish register of St. James, Westminster. He is called in the Probate Act book "Huntington Shaw nup' parōce Sti. Jacobi Westmr. in Com. Middxie def'ti"; in his will dated three days before his death, viz. October 17, 1710, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 25th of the same month (*Smith*, fo. 220), by Mary Shaw his relict and executrix, he is described as "Huntington Shaw, of the Parish of St.

James, Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, Blacksmith, being very Sick and weak of Body, But of Sound and perfect mind and memory"; he appoints his wife Mary Shaw sole executrix, and bequeaths her "All Ready moneys, Goods, Chattells, Bills, Bonds, Book Debts," and she is the only legatee mentioned; he states that he makes his "last Will and Testament to be an exception against all Law Suits, Troubles, Molestations and Vexations whatsoever," signed, Huntington Shaw, witnesses: Richard Cawthorn, Benj. Jackson, Wm. Tatersall. The signature is in a good hand, and the seal is an armorial one and bears [*ar.*] on a saltire [*sa.*] five crosses patonce [*or.*], which coat Burke assigns to Cawthorne of Yorkshire; it was doubtless an impression from the seal of Richard Cawthorn, one of the witnesses. The name of Shaw's wife before her marriage was probably Hacket, unless what appears to be a letter C in the monogram from the iron railings of her husband's tomb, stands for the first letter of her maiden name, in which case her mother must have married a second time, for she mentions her mother by that name in her will. Mr. Wallis informed me that he "was in the hope of tracing something through the Hackets, but nothing has been found." A search I made in the volumes of parish registers and marriage licences printed by the Harleian Society, also in several Hacket wills proved in the Prerogative and London Courts, &c., failed to establish the marriage, and Dr. George W. Marshall, F.S.A., Rouge Croix, to whom I am indebted for looking for the name of Shaw in his voluminous notes of Nottinghamshire marriage licences, found a large number for persons of that name, but that of Huntington Shaw was not amongst them.

Shaw's widow died in 1714; she is called in the Probate Act book "*Mariæ Shaw nuper Parcoe Sti. Jacobi Westmr. in Com. Midd. Viduæ deftæ.*" The rate books of St. James, Westminster, as before mentioned, are missing from 1708 to 1716, therefore it cannot be ascertained from that source whether Mrs. Shaw continued to reside in Frances Street after her husband's death; but she probably did so, for in the book for 1717 Benjamin Jackson, who was her executor, paid a rate of 13s. 4d. for the middle premises in "Francis Street, West.," and

again in 1718, as "Mr. Jackson," he paid a rate of 18s., but he had given them up before 1719. Notwithstanding that an inscription does not appear to have been placed to her memory on her husband's tomb, she probably was buried in the vault below it, but unfortunately the date of her death is within the period for which the registers are missing. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that a careful search that I made in the register of burials of St. James, Westminster, from the date of her will until the date of probate, failed to find any entry relating to her. In her will dated April 11, 1711, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, November 18, 1714, (*Aston*, fo. 230) by Benjamin Jackson, sole executor, she is described as "Mary Shaw, of the Parish of St. James in the Liberty of Westminster, Widow"; she directs "as for my body I leave it to be decently interred at the Discretion of my Executor," and "as for my Worldly Goods I dispose of as followeth, that is to say To Benjamin Jackson, Esqr., the Queen's Master Mason, All my Debts, Goods, Chattells, Plate, ready Money, and whatever may be called myne," he to pay "to my Loving Mother Mary Hacket Ten Pounds yearly during her Natural Life," and she appoints "the said Benjamin Jackson Sole Executor," signed "Mary Shaw . . . in the Presence of Jeffrey Flittercroft, Frances Robertes, Thomas Mills." The executor is evidently identical with the Benj. Jackson, a witness to her husband's will. It appears from Mr. Ernest Law's *History of Hampton Court Palace*, that on November 1, 1701, William III "signified the appointment of Mr. Jackson as master mason at Hampton Court, in the place of Mr. Oliver, deceased." Thinking that his will might throw some light on the Shaw family, I searched for it; it is dated May 8, 1719, and was proved in the Prerogative Court on the 12th of the same month (*Browning*, fo. 85); in it the testator is described as "Benjamin Jackson, of the Parish of Hampton, in the County of Midds. Esqr."; he mentions several legatees, but none of them named Shaw or Hacket, and bequeaths £5 to the poor of Hampton and St. James, Westminster, respectively. In the Probate Act book he is called of the same parish and by the same description as in his will.

To return to the ironwork. The interlaced scrolls

To face page 165.



IRONWORK FROM THE TOMB OF HUNTINGTON SHAW, HAMPTON CHURCH,
MIDDLESEX.

appear to represent the letters H.M.S.C. of which the last two are repeated reversed; the whole forming a monogram, the first three letters of which would stand for Huntington and Mary Shaw, and if the other scrolls are intended for the letter C, and not a mere ornament, it may stand as already suggested for the initial of Mrs. Shaw's maiden name in which case she could not have been a Hackett. The arrangement will be better understood by reference to the Plate.¹ The letters are made of half inch flat iron, three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, drawn off at the ends into volutes and halved together at the intersections of the letters. The composition, which measures ten and a-half inches high by seven and a-half in width, was apparently originally enclosed, judging from its outline and from four rivet holes, viz. one in the top and bottom of each S., in an oval framework which no doubt formed an ornamental panel in the railing in front of the tomb. I am informed by an expert in art metal working, that such a piece would represent three or four days' work of one man. Interlaced letters are frequently introduced in the pediments of seventeenth and eighteenth century iron entrance gates and clever designs are given in a work without date, but apparently early eighteenth century, entitled "A Complete Alphabet of Cyphers, Reversed and Inverted, Composed by James Pigot." Pasted on the ironwork was a dilapidated label bearing the following words in MS. viz., "From the Iron Railing, from the Tomb of Huntington, the Maker of the Ornamental Gates, H.C.P. who was Buried at Hampton. The remainder Part of the Railing was converted into other purposes the Initials the only Portion left, procured by me W. Hurst." Although the surname of Shaw was wanting, the label left but little doubt that the ironwork was from the tomb of Huntington Shaw, and this was to a great extent confirmed by the initials. Upon enquiry of Mr. Edwin Chart, the resident clerk of the works at Hampton Court, he was good enough to write to me that:—"There is no doubt that the signature to the label is that of William Hurst, the foreman bricklayer here, who was fond of collecting all sorts of relics, especially any-

¹ My thanks are due to Mr. Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A., for taking the ex-

cellent photograph of the ironwork, from which this plate is reproduced.

thing connected with the Palace; Hurst died here in 1873 and had been here about forty years, which would carry him back to about the time when Hampton Church was rebuilt (about 1830)." It appears from a head-stone in Hampton churchyard, that William Hurst "died at Hampton Court Palace, October 6th, 1873, aged 70 years." Mr. W. H. Hills, from whom I purchased the ironwork, informed me that it was bought by him on September 16, 1886, after the death of a Mr. Sturges, of the Falstaff public house, Addington Street, Ramsgate, who had a small museum there, which was then dispersed, but how it found its way into Mr. Sturges' collection I have not been able to ascertain.

It is stated under "Hampton" in Pigot and Co's. Directory for 1833-4, that "The church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, having long been in a dilapidated state was taken down at the commencement of 1830; and on the 13th of April in that year, the first stone of a new edifice was laid, &c." It was at this time that nearly the whole of Shaw's tomb must have perished. The earliest notice of it seems to be that by Lysons given in his account of Hampton, amongst those parishes in Middlesex which are not described in the *Environs of London*, published in 1800; he says, "Against the south wall of the church, on the outside, is a memorial for Huntington Shaw, of Nottingham, who is called 'an artist in his own [*sic*] way' (the words last mentioned are in inverted commas). He died in 1710, aged 51." It will be important to remember when this inscription is dealt with subsequently, that Lysons, admittedly a most careful topographer, does not mention a word as to the inscription recording the all important statement that Shaw "designed and executed the ornamental Ironwork at Hampton Court Palace." A search that I made in the same author's topographical collections, now amongst the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, failed to discover his original notes relating to Hampton, which perhaps might have contained a verbatim copy of the inscription. The exact position of Shaw's tomb is ascertained from a "Plan of Hampton (New) Church, showing the Vaults, &c., &c.," drawn to a scale of twelve feet to an inch, and signed "T. T. W., 1836," now preserved in the church. The vault was outside, close to

the south wall of the south aisle, and between the existing tombs of the Sanderson and Jackson families respectively, and immediately below the second window from the west end. It is lettered "U," on the plan, and the reference in the margin says "U., Huntington Shaw's Grave filled up." A very small representation of the memorial, formerly above this vault can be seen in an Indian ink drawing of the south side of the old church, inserted in an interleaved copy of Lysons' work now preserved in the library of the Corporation of London, and also in a similar view given in Ripley's *History of Hampton*, 1885. It appears to have been a large light coloured memorial, consisting of a flat pyramidal base supporting an oval shaped tablet, the whole fixed to the wall between the two windows of the south aisle. The iron railing that enclosed it is shown, but there is no indication of any ornamental metal work, the drawings being too small. The upper part of the memorial has the appearance of being identical with Shaw's monument now in the church, and this view is confirmed by Mr. Henry Ripley in his history, who says, "On the *outer* wall, and between the two windows of the south aisle was the monument of Huntington Shaw, the celebrated worker in wrought iron, who died October 20th, 1710, aged 51. A portion of this monument, evidently restored, is in the present church. It bears the following inscription:—He was an artist in his way, He designed and erected [*sic*] the ornamental iron-work at Hampton Court," and further, in his account of the memorials in the churchyard he says "between two of the buttresses of the church lie the remains of Huntington Shaw, the clever artisan, previously referred to, as having constructed the beautiful wrought-iron gates at Hampton Court Palace. No stone marks his last resting place, but in the time of the old church, a large tablet was affixed to the wall directly over it, and surrounded by an iron palisading. A portion of this monument is now in the interior of the present church." The portion that survived the destruction of 1830, consists of one piece of white marble, which now forms an oval shaped mural tablet. The design is in the rococo style, a somewhat grotesque mask is introduced in the upper part, and conventional foliage encircles the oval

convex inscription table which measures two feet high by eighteen and a-half inches in width; the entire design is three feet eight and a-half inches by two feet three and a-half inches at the widest part, a small sculptured bracket, of the same material, supports the monument, and adds another six inches to the composition; the whole evidently has been *very much* scraped and touched up.

Upon the authority of the inscription *now* on this tablet, Shaw has been credited with the authorship and execution of the ironwork for Hampton Court, which I am satisfied that neither he in his lifetime, nor his widow on his behalf, ever thought of claiming. Mr. Ripley says, "The design and execution of this work is so exquisite, that doubts have been raised as to the possibility of Shaw, an *Englishman*, being capable of producing it. In the absence of documentary evidence to the contrary, however, we patriotically continue to believe that *he was*." Mr. Ernest Law, in his admirable *History of Hampton Court* (1891), has dealt a death-blow to the statement that Shaw "*designed*" the ironwork and screens. He says, "They were designed by a Frenchman named Jean Tijou, as appears from a book of copper-plate engravings, published by him in 1693, entitled '*Nouveau Livre de Dessiens Inventé et Dessiné par Jean Tijou*,' and described in French and in English as '*Containing severall sortes of Ironworke, as Gates, Frontispieces, Balconies, Staircases, Pannells, etc., of which the most part hath been wrought at the Royal Building of Hampton Court.*'" The following extract from Mr. Law's book, clearly disposes of the statement that Shaw *designed* the work, he says: "The graceful curves of the foliated scroll-work, and the lightness and the delicacy of the leaves, stems, and tendrils of the forged and beaten metal, are truly admirable, and reflect the greatest credit on the handicraftsman, whose artistic hammer and chisel wrought it into these beautiful shapes. The name of that handicraftsman is, as it happens, preserved to us. He was one Huntington Shaw, of Nottingham, and his monument in Hampton Church, after recording that he died 'at Hampton Court, the 20th day of October, 1710, aged 51 years,' goes on to state that 'he was an artist in his way, he designed and executed the ornamental ironwork at

Hampton Court Palace.' On the authority of this inscription, Shaw has hitherto received the exclusive credit of having produced the screens, and patriotic gratulation has often been expressed that they are thoroughly English in design as well as workmanship. It is added that the King died before the completion of the work, or at least before the screens were paid for; that the Parliament repudiated the debt; and that Shaw died of disappointment. But a suspicion that this plausible inference, and the story built upon it, were not altogether in accordance with the fact, suggested itself to the author, when, in searching among the old Treasury Papers for Shaw's name, he failed to come across any reference to him—although the names and wages of all the artificers engaged on the works, from the great artists such as Cibber, Gibbons, Verrio, and Laguerre, down to the commonest labourers, are frequently mentioned. And this suspicion was confirmed, when among a 'List of Debts in the Office of Works in 1701,' preserved in the Record Office, an entry was found, under the heading of 'Hampton Court Gardens,' of '£1,982 0s. 7d. due to John Tijou, Smith,' the conclusion being that in Tijou we must recognise the real author of these magnificent works of art. The clue thus afforded resulted in the discovery of the rare and curious book of Tijou's above cited, whereby the correctness of our surmise was demonstrated." Mr. Law continues, "To Shaw, however, there may still remain the honour of having, with unequalled skill and art, carried out the design of the master, under whose immediate supervision he probably worked. The explanation of Shaw being credited by the memorial inscription, with the *designing* as well as the execution of the screens, perhaps lies in the exaggerated notion of his achievement, entertained by his friends and neighbours, who erected it to his memory." The writer further points out that "Jean Tijou was the only person recognized in the matter by the Board of Works and the Treasury," and that the bulk of his claim was still undischarged in 1703, and adds, "There is perhaps, therefore, some foundation for the story that Shaw died of disappointment at not receiving payment for his work; for Tijou, who himself remained so long unpaid, may naturally have

been unable to remunerate the workman who executed them under his direction," also "of Tijou, and of his life and works, nothing has hitherto been known, except that he was father-in-law to the painter Laguerre, and that he designed the iron screens in the chancel of St. Paul's Cathedral." Tijou's will might perhaps have shown his connection with Shaw, if indeed one existed, but a long search made in the Prerogative and London Courts, &c., failed to discover such a document, but that of his son-in-law "Lewis Laguerre, of the Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the County of Middlesex, Painter," dated May 13th, 1718, was proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Middlesex on April 22, 1721; in it the testator mentions his sons John Laguerre and Lewis Laguerre, and daughter Mariam, he appoints his wife, Sarah Laguerre, sole executrix, and she proved the will.

In reply to further enquiries Mr. Wallis wrote, "With regard to the certainty of Shaw having wrought the Hampton Court screens, I cannot find any record at the Record Office of his having done so. I remember at the time my father (viz., the late Mr. George Wallis, Keeper of the South Kensington Museum), saying, after finding the design by Tijou, that he himself was quite confirmed that Shaw had wrought the screens."

Such then is the evidence in support of Shaw having "*executed* the ornamental iron-work." Both Mr. Wallis and Mr. Ripley fail to give any proof that he did, and Mr. Law not only disposes of the statement that he "designed" the work, but after a long search in the accounts failed to find a single payment to him recorded, or a tittle of evidence showing that he "*executed*" it, beyond that afforded by the last sentence of the monumental inscription now in Hampton Church, and the genuineness of which he does not question. I have now only to deal with that, and in answer to the question, "What is the last sentence, the crucial sentence, worth?" The reply must be, "Simply nothing." Is it reasonable to suppose that Lysons, who printed his account of the memorial in the year 1800, when it was in its original position, would have been contented with giving the words, "He was an Artist in His way," in inverted commas, and at the same time ignoring the all important statement that now

follows it. The evidence seems conclusive that at that time the lower part of the tablet not occupied by Huntington Shaw's inscription was blank, evidently intended by Mrs. Shaw, when she erected the memorial over her husband's vault, that it should, after her death contain one to her memory, which her executor, like many others under similar circumstances since, neglected to have cut on it. The portion of the memorial now doing duty as a marble mural monument in the church, was, as I have already shown, removed from the churchyard when the rest was destroyed in 1830. It had been exposed to the elements for about one hundred and twenty years, and clearly at that time underwent a considerable scraping to fit it for its elevated position in the brand new church, and then it would seem, viz., six score years after Shaw's death, that the misleading sentence was added. The tablet is now fixed high up on the south wall, but from a rubbing I made of the inscription the old and new lettering can easily be detected. This has been reduced by photographic process and appears on p. 159. The unequal spacing, the small letter h in the word he, which commences the addition, the ugly shaped H in Hampton, and the use of the word "Palace," which does not occur after the word "Court" in the original part, with many other minor differences, all go to show that the sentence in which they occur is an addition, the mason evidently tried to reproduce the old lettering; still it is but a poor copy.

It is worth noting, that Tijou's book of designs, "which the most part hath been wrought at the Royal Building of Hampton Court," was published in 1693, as mentioned before, and the ironwork represented, was finished probably at the latest, a year or two earlier, and as Shaw was born in 1660, he was a young man of about thirty years of age at the time of the completion, which happened nearly ten years before he became a ratepayer of the parish of St. James, Westminster.

There seems no reason to doubt that Shaw was a clever blacksmith, in fact "an Artist in His way," if we may consider the monogram from the railing of his tomb to be a specimen of what was done at his forge, also, as a matter of speculation, Shaw, possibly with other blacksmiths,

may have been employed by Tijou, and he may, in that capacity, or on behalf of someone else, have assisted in making ironwork for Hampton Court. He having died there, and being on terms of intimacy with the King's master mason, as I have already shown, gives some ground for such a supposition, but it is a supposition only; if such was the case, however, it may have been magnified by tradition into the statements that were added in the present century to his memorial.

In conclusion :—*Palmarum qui meruit ferat*, and the only man to whom we can fairly assign the *execution* of the “ornamental ironwork,” *upon the evidence at present obtained*, as well as designing it, is not Huntington Shaw, but Jean Tijou, *smith*.

ENGLISH MUNICIPAL HERALDRY.¹

By W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

I have lately had occasion, for reasons with which I need not trouble you, to enquire what has been written on the history and origin of municipal heraldry, but with the exception of such catalogues as those of Guillim, Edmondson, and Berry, and a recent pretentious work called *The Book of Public Arms*, I am unable to find anything on the subject, for none of these writers attempts to explain either the origin or the meaning of the numerous arms borne by the incorporated cities and boroughs of England and Wales.

This small amount of attention that has been bestowed upon municipal heraldry may perhaps be accounted for by the nature of the authorities to which we must turn for evidence.

In the case of personal heraldry we have rolls of arms and such like documents, and numerous monuments, from very early times, as well as an abundance of well-known seals, and at a later date formal grants from the Herald's College.

But the only authorities for municipal heraldry before the reign of Elizabeth, and also to a large extent after, are the common and official seals used by the corporations. These, from the nature of the documents, leases and the like, to which they are attached, are of very local and limited distribution, and it is no wonder that municipal seals and the armorial evidence which they furnish should be so little known.

Independently of their local distribution the study of municipal seals, and indeed of any other class, is beset with difficulties, inasmuch as there are so few fairly complete collections of impressions or casts in existence, available for that close and comparative examination which is absolutely necessary to a knowledge of them.

The most accessible of these collections, though perhaps

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 7th, 1894.

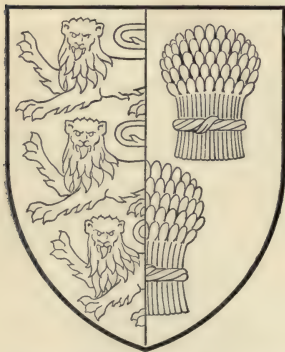
the least known, is that made by the late Mr. Albert Way, and by him bequeathed to the Society of Antiquaries. There has also come into my own hands during the last few years a large number of impressions of existing municipal seals, which, when added to those belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, will with them form the most complete series hitherto got together.

It is mainly upon the evidence furnished by these two collections that I have based the subject of my paper.

The assumption of arms by corporate bodies, though hardly consonant with the best and truest principles of ancient armory, began at a much earlier date than is commonly supposed.

In the oldest municipal seals which display shields, these bear simply the royal arms of England, in reference to the king as over-lord; but before the end of the thirteenth century there is evidence that the towns were beginning to adopt arms of their own.

The earliest of these arms to which a definite date can be attached seems to be those of the city of Chester. They occur on the lesser Statute Merchant seal of 1283, and represent the three lions of England combined, by



ANCIENT ARMS OF THE CITY OF CHESTER.



ARMS OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

the curious and ugly process called dimidiation, with the three golden garbs on a blue field of the earldom of Chester.

Of about the same time, or very little later, since they occur on the dated Dover seal of 1305, are the singular arms borne by the several corporations of the Cinque Ports and their dependencies,¹ which are compounded of the three lions of England dimidiated with the hulls of three ships.

These curious monsters, half lion, half ship, may be compared with those in the, probably, contemporary arms of Great Yarmouth, which are formed of the lions of England as before, dimidiated with three herrings. The present arms of Stamford, England impaling De Warenne, very likely originated in a dimidiated shield.

The fine late thirteenth century seal of Kingston-on-Thames has a shield bearing three fish and a letter R, perhaps in allusion to its ancient fisheries, which are specially mentioned in Domesday Book. The first Droitwich seal, of about the same date, displays a shield charged with two lions passant surmounting or pierced by a sword. These are probably derived from the personal arms of a lord of the manor of Wich, but I have not yet been able to



FIRST ARMS OF THE TOWN OF
DROITWICH.

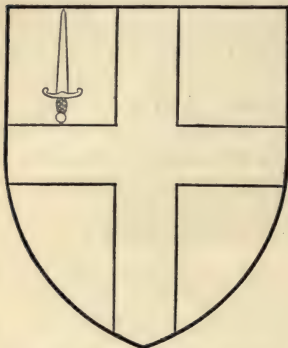
definitely assign them. The sword, however, refers to William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, who was lord of Wich in the reigns of John and Henry III., until his death in 1226.

During the fourteenth century several interesting arms made their appearance.

Foremost among these is the beautiful shield of the city of London, which combines the sword of St. Paul with the cross of St. George. It occurs first on the second mayoralty seal of 1381, but is probably at least fifty years older. The popular notion that the sword

¹ Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Hythe, Winchelsea, and Rye; also Hastings, Deal, Faversham, Lydd, Tenterden, and Ipswich.

really represents the dagger wherewith Sir William Walworth slew Wat Tyler is effectually disposed of by the



ARMS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.



ARMS OF THE CITY OF YORK.

fact that, as shown by the city records, the seal on which the arms occur had already been in use three months before Wat Tyler met with his end.



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF LYNN.

Another late fourteenth century seal, that of the mayoralty of York, exhibits the charming arms of that city, *argent, a cross of St. George charged with five lions of England*. On seals of about the same date appear the arms of Lynn, *azure, three dragons' headserased and erect, each pierced with a cross or*. These are now frequently but most ignorantly drawn and blazoned as *conger-eels' heads*, but they of course refer to St. Margaret, the patron saint of Lynn, who is usually

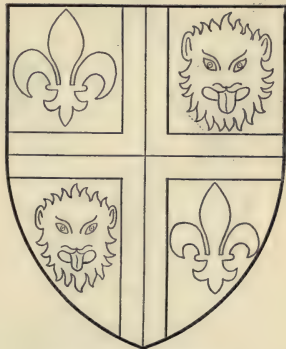
represented trampling on or bursting forth from a dragon and piercing him with a cross staff.

The seal of Lewes also shows the arms of that town, composed of the blue and gold checkers of the De

Warennnes, who were for so long the lords of Lewes, with a sinister quarter charged with a lion rampant on a crusilly field. This perhaps refers to the powerful Sussex family of De Braose, but I have not yet been able to establish their connection with the town of Lewes. In any case we have here an interesting example of the combination of two personal shields of arms to form a new one for the town.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, on the seals used by the chancellors of the University, we meet with the canting arms now borne by the city of Oxford, *argent, an ox gules, crossing a ford proper*. On the early city seals this device occurs as a badge or rebus only, and it is a question whether it was not at first used as the arms of the University.

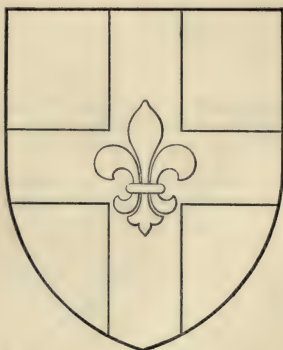
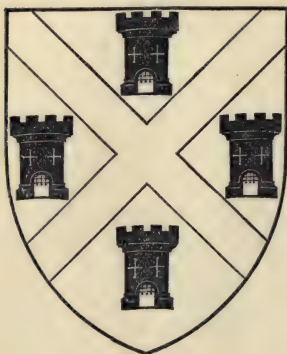
The Shrewsbury arms, *azure, three lions' heads (or faces) or*, are shown on the fine dated seal of 1425. They probably refer to the royal arms, despite the blue field on which they are now borne. The curious quarterly shield of Shaftesbury, *first and fourth a fleur-de-lis, second and third a leopard's head; over all a cross*, occurs on a charming little seal of which impressions exist as early as 1428. These arms are now blazoned with the field and the cross *quarterly argent and azure*, and the charges counterchanged. But the quarters should, I think, more probably be *azure* and *gules* and the charges *or*. They would thus, instead of being meaningless, have an interesting reference to the royal arms. The cross must have been gold or silver and perhaps refers to the great Benedictine abbey of Shaftesbury, the abbess of which divided the manor with the king.



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF
SHAFTESBURY.

The second Droitwich seal, of early fifteenth century date, may here be noticed for the singular arms it bears.

These are composed of the lions and long sword already noticed as on the first seal, impaled with *quarterly, 1 and 4, chequy argent and sable, 2 and 3, gules, two peels or salt baskets or*. After much consideration I am inclined to think that this curious addition to the old arms alludes to the payments or dues to the king for the brine works, exemplified by the checker board on which the accounts were made up, and the baskets to the salt industry from which the town derives its old name. Possibly the first half of the place-name, "Droit," may have reference to the royal dues, in which case the quarterly impalement may be a canting allusion to the name Droitwich.



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF PLYMOUTH.

ARMS OF THE CITY OF LINCOLN.

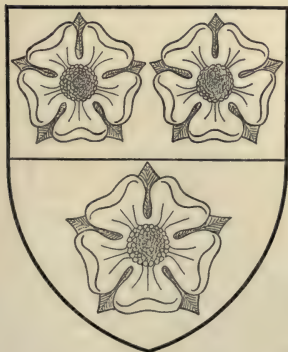
Another early shield of a date not later than 1430 is that of Kingston-on-Hull, *azure, three crowns or*, in allusion probably to its name of the King's-town. The same charges on a field *sable* occur later as the arms of Boston.

The fine mayoralty seal of Plymouth, which almost certainly dates from the incorporation charter of 1440, introduces a very pretty shield of arms: *argent, a saltire vert between four towers sable*. Here the cross is that of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Plymouth, while the towers refer to the fortifications of this, even then, most important stronghold.

On the reverse of the Tenterden seal, which dates from the charter of 1447, is a shield in base, where the arms of the corporations are usually placed, bearing *on a bend between four lions' heads erased, three estoiles of eight points*. These are the arms of Thomas Petlesdon, who was the first bailiff under the new charter. Despite their obviously personal character, it is curious to find that their position in the place of the corporate arms should have led to their subsequent use as the arms of the town; at any rate they are displayed as such on the sail of the ship which forms the device of the seventeenth century mayoralty seal. On the seal of 1447 the ship has on the sail the arms of the Cinque Ports, of which Tenterden was a dependency.



ARMS OF THOMAS PETLESDON, FIRST BAILIFF OF TENTERDEN, 1447.



ARMS OF THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON.



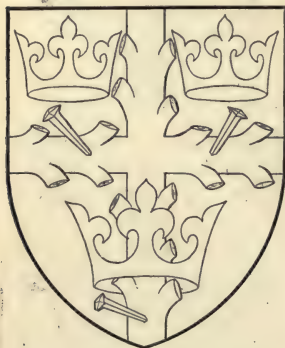
ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF LUDLOW.

On the common seal made for the city of Lincoln in 1449 we meet with another simple and interesting shield, *argent, on a cross of St. George a fleur-de-lis or*. These

arms are probably a century older than the seal. The fleur-de-lis clearly refers to the Blessed Virgin Mary, in whose honour the cathedral church is dedicated.

The arms of Southampton, *per fess argent and gules, three roses counterchanged*, are stated in the grant of a crest and supporters in 1575 to have been borne since the incorporation of the town by Henry VI. in 1445. The simple character of the shield agrees well with this date, and the red roses of the House of Lancaster plainly tell its origin.

An equally interesting shield is that of Ludlow, *azure, a lion couchant between three roses argent*. These arms first occur on the common seal of 1461, in which year



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF COLCHESTER. FIRST ARMS OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

the town was incorporated by Edward IV., and are therefore appropriately composed of the white roses of the House of York and the white lion of the House of March.

The splendid seal of Colchester, made probably to commemorate the granting of a new charter by Edward IV. in 1461, bears on the obverse, in base, the arms of the town, *gules, a cross raguly argent, between two crowns in chief and passing through a third in base or*. As the principal subject of the seal is a figure of St. Helen, who is asserted to have been born at Colchester, clasping the Cross and three nails, the principal charge in the arms is easily explained, especially since on the seal it is shown

pierced with three nails. The crowns of course refer to the patron saint of East Anglia, St. Edmund the King, whose martyrdom may be indicated by the red field.

The arms themselves are of earlier date than the seal, since they also occur (but without the nails in the cross) in the initial letter of the charter granted to the town by Henry V. This also contains a seated figure of St. Helen, with the Cross held up before her by a kneeling king.

A precisely similar shield, but with the cross *vert*, is claimed as the arms of Nottingham, and so entered in the Visitation of 1569. I cannot, however, find any other or earlier authority for them, nor can I see how they are to be interpreted, or what possible connection they can have with Nottingham.

On the mayoralty seal of Gloucester, made in 1483, is shown an interesting shield which for fifty years was used as the city arms. It bears the newly granted sword of state bendwise between six horseshoes on a field *semée* of horsenails, in allusion to the staple trade of the town.

Another shield of arms for which there may be early authority is that of the city of Hereford, *gules three lions passant gardant in pale argent*. These arms occur, in conjunction with the royal arms, on the late fifteenth century state sword, but it is doubtful whether the lions are *or* or *argent*, or the arms of England or Hereford. Long usage would point to the latter, but they are clearly derived from the royal arms. So, too, must be the arms of New Romney, which are asserted to be *azure, three lions passant gardant or*, but I do not know upon what authority. Maldon bears *azure, three lions passant regardant or*, which are probably but a blundered version of the arms of England. Appleby also claims on the authority of its interesting thirteenth century seal, to bear *three crowned lions passant gardant*, but the arms on the seal are unquestionably the uncrowned lions of England.

With the possible exception of those of Oxford the whole of the arms that have so far been described are regular heraldic compositions of the same character as personal arms. There are, however, a considerable number of cities and towns whose arms have obviously

been formed, as in the case of Oxford, by placing upon shields the devices of their common or official seals. Many of these devices when so treated become most appropriate armorial bearings, and it is only natural that they should have suggested themselves for the purpose.

We have evidence, too, that the practice began quite early. The arms of Norwich, for example, *gules, a triple-towered castle argent and in base a lion of England* appear on the first mayoralty seal of 1404-5. They are, however, clearly derived from the old bailiff's seal and counterseal, which bore a castle and a lion respectively. These were combined to form the device of the new common seal made when the constitution of the city was changed in



ARMS OF THE CITY OF NORWICH.



ARMS OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

1404-5. The meaning of the charges on the shield is of course obvious. Another early instance of these borrowed devices is furnished by the arms of Bristol, which, as now borne, may be shortly blazoned as : *gules, a castle argent, issuing therefrom a ship on the waves proper*. These are shown as the city arms on the "pearl sword" which was given shortly after 1431, and also in the curious MS. belonging to the corporation known as Ricart's *Kalendar*, temp. Edward IV. The arms are derived from the fourteenth century mayoralty seals, which bear representations of a castellated water-gate, with the prow of a vessel issuing from it.

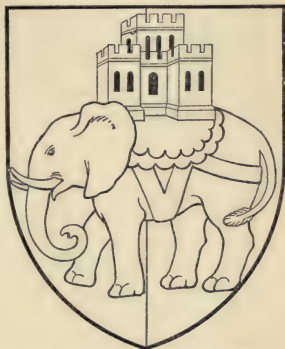
The arms of Lancaster, *per fess, azure a fleur-de-lis or, and gules a lion of England*, have probably been taken from a similar seal to that of Walden (now Saffron Walden) which bears a lion of England with a fleur-de-lis above. An old mayoralty seal of Chichester has a variant of this, but borne on a shield, *a lion passant regardant, with a fleur-de-lis in base*. In at any rate the first two cases, the allusion to the royal arms is obvious.

To the end of the fifteenth century possibly belong three shields of arms formed by placing the devices or badges of the seals on parti-coloured fields of the livery colours:

Exeter: *Per pale gules and sable, a triangular triple-towered castle or.* (Visitation of 1564.)

Coventry: *Per pale gules and vert, an elephant and castle or.* (Visitation of 1619.)

Buckingham: *Per pale gules and sable, a swan with wings expanded argent, gorged with a coronet and chained or.* (Visitation of 1566.)



ARMS OF THE CITY OF COVENTRY.

As there appear to be no other instances of arms derived from seals which can be shown to be of earlier date than the sixteenth century, it will be more convenient to defer the consideration of them while we examine such arms as were formally granted between the foundation of the Heralds' College in 1483-4, and the abolition of the monarchy in 1649, when the functions of the College were practically suspended until the Restoration.

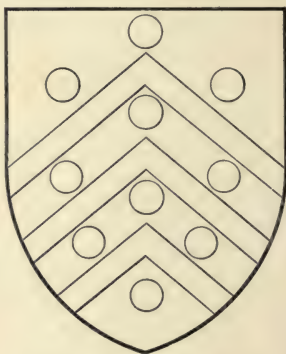
The decadence of the true principles of armory which set in after the Wars of the Roses is well illustrated by the arms of some of the later corporations, and in particular by those that have been granted by the College of Arms.

In place of the simple bearings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such as I have described, all kinds of elaborate combinations may now be met with, and in more than one case the heralds seem to have gone out of their way to supersede an interesting and intelligible shield of arms, which had not their "authority," by another that can only be called ridiculous.

The city of Gloucester, for instance, as I have shown, received or assumed (as it was certainly at liberty to do) most appropriate arms in 1483. These were set aside in 1538 by Christopher Barker, Garter, who granted in their stead this extraordinary concoction: *Vert, on a pale or,*



SECOND ARMS OF THE CITY OF
GLOUCESTER.



THIRD ARMS OF THE CITY OF
GLOUCESTER.

a sword azure, bezanted, hilt and pommel gules, on the point a cap of maintenance purpure, lined ermine, all between two horseshoes, each between three horsenails in triangle argent; on a chief per pale or and purpure a boar's head couped silver, between two demi-roses-en-soleil, the dexter gules, the sinister argent, both barbed vert and rayed or. The city endured these arms for more than a century, but was relieved of them in 1652 by another Garter, Edward Bishe, who for reasons of his own substituted the arms that have since been used: *or, three chevronels gules, between ten torteaux, 3, 3, 3, 1.* These are clearly a combination of the arms of De Clare, the ancient lords of Gloucester, with

those of the see of Worcester, to which Gloucester was formerly attached¹.

Again, the borough of Ipswich had for a long time used the curious dimidiated arms of the Cinque Ports, of which it was a dependency. But in granting a crest and supporters to the town in 1561, these arms were set aside by William Hervy, then Clarencieux, and converted into *gules, a lion rampant gardant or, impaling azure three demi-ships or*. The demi-ships are drawn in the grant as they had been before, as part of a dimidiated shield. Hervy states that he had searched in the registers and records of his office for the right and ancient arms of the town, and having found the antiquity of them, and being unable to alter or change them without the prejudice of the townsfolk, he accordingly "ratifies and confirms them." It does not say much for the worthy herald's researches that he was able to find arms that had no previous existence, unless perchance in his own imagination.

A more reasonable case of interference occurred in 1645, when a special augmentation was added to the ancient arms of Hereford by Sir Edward Walker, Garter, at the command and direction of Charles I., to commemorate the successful resistance of the citizens for five weeks against the besieging Scottish army. The augmentation appropriately took the form of a blue bordure charged with ten silver saltires, or "Scottish crosses" as they are called in the grant, which also included suitable supporters and crest.

Among other more or less elaborate shields granted by the Heralds' College during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century may be mentioned those of:

Morpeth (1552): *Barry of ten argent and gules, a triple-towered castle or, all within a bordure azure charged with ten martlets gold;*

Newark (1561): *Barry wavy of six argent and azure, on a chief gules a peacock in his pride between a fleur-de-lis and a lion passant gardant or;*

¹ The arms of Kidderminster, *azure, two chevronels or between three bezants and each charged with four roundels,*

seem to have been suggested by and to be about contemporary with the present arms of Gloucester.

Launceston (1573): *Gules, a three-storied castle or, within a bordure azure charged with eight turrets gold;*

Cambridge (1575): *Gules, a bridge or; in chief a fleur-de-lis of the last between two roses argent; in base three boats sable on the waves proper;*

Eye (1592): *Azure, a cross flory between four martlets or, in chief on a rose branch proper issuing from the cross and bearing six roses argent, an eagle volant silver, crowned gold;*

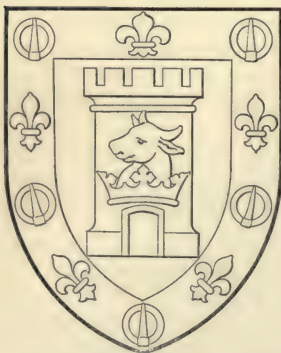
Westminster (1601): *Azure, a portcullis or; on a chief of the last between two roses gules a pale of the field charged with a cross patonce between five martlets gold;*

Evesham (1604): *Azure, a prince's coronet, between two ostrich feathers argent, the quills chained or, in chief, and a gold garb in base, all within a bordure sable bezantée;*

Bury St. Edmunds (1606): *Azure, three crowns or, each transfixéd with two arrows saltirewise argent;*

Hadleigh (1615): *Azure, a chevron erminois between three woollsacks argent; and*

Gravesend (1636): *Argent, on an embattled tower gules, a bull's head sable, horned and maned or, issuing from a gold coronet, all within a bordure azure charged with five fleurs-de-lis and as many buckles or.*



ARMS OF THE TOWN OF GRAVESEND.

It is curious that eight out of these ten shields are characterised by a bordure or a chief, or charges in chief, features that are not found in any of the ancient arms which have been described.

Among the shields of this period that are distinguished by having a chief is an interesting group of comparatively

simple design, which from their general likeness would seem to have been suggested by or to have had a common origin.

They are:

Canterbury: *Argent, three Cornish choughs proper; on a chief gules, a lion of England.* Engraved on the city seal in 1541-2, in place of the martyrdom of St. Thomas;

Maidstone: *Or, a fess wavy azure between three torteaux; on a chief gules, a lion of England.* Engraved on the first common seal of 1548;

Rochester: *Argent, on a cross gules the letter r or; on a chief gules, a lion of England.* On the mayoralty seal of 1619;

Chichester: *Argent, guttée sable; on a chief indented gules, a lion of England.* Granted 1570.

Sudbury: *Sable, a hound sejant argent; on a chief gules, a lion of England between two fleurs-de-lis or.* Granted 1576.

Lyme Regis: *Argent, two bars wavy argent; on a chief gules, a lion of England.* Probably granted circa 1591.

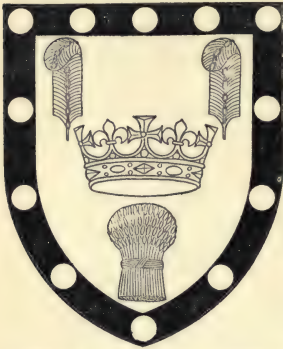


ARMS OF THE CITY OF CANTERBURY.

Two of these, Chichester and Sudbury, were granted by Robert Cooke, when Clarencieux King-of-Arms, and it is curious that the Rochester arms are almost identical with the official arms of Clarencieux. But Cooke can hardly have been responsible for all six shields, since he was not admitted a member of the Heralds' College until 1561.

As to the significance of these shields, apart from the royal chief, the Cornish choughs of Canterbury are the arms ascribed to St. Thomas; the blue wavy fess of

Maidstone alludes to the river Medway, and the tor-teaux to Archbishop Courtenay, the founder of the college; the wavy bars of Lyme refer to its site by the sea; and the Sudbury hound is from the arms of the unfortunate Archbishop Simon de Sudbury, who was born there. The black drops on the Chichester shield I cannot yet explain.



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF EVESHAM.

include to the name of the town. The arms of Evesham were designed by Camden with



ARMS OF THE TOWN OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

Some of the elaborate shields before referred to aim, in a more or less clumsy way, at being full of meaning. The arms of Morpeth for instance are asserted in Hervy's grant to be "the olde and Auncient armes of the sayde Sir Roger Marlaye theron a castell golde for the augmen-tacon." Those of Newark again are a modified combination of the arms and crest of Manners, dukes of Rutland, who were connected with the place; and the arms of Cambridge still punningly allude to the name of the town. The arms of Evesham were special reference to Henry, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, and ingeniously refer to all three dignities, though not without infringing one of the cardinal laws of armory, that colour must not be laid upon colour. The coronet is that which belonged to prince Henry as the son of the king; the feathers refer to his dignity as prince of Wales, and the garb to his earldom of Chester, while the bordure alludes to his dukedom of Cornwall.

The arms of Bury St. Edmunds, from their good character, may be earlier than 1606, when they were included in the grant of a crest to the town. This crest is a wolf sejant holding between his paws the crowned head of St. Edmund, and the arms represent the weapons with which the king was martyred, combined with the three crowns of East Anglia.

The Hadleigh arms, but for the use of erminois, are also of sufficiently simple character to be earlier than 1618, when they were granted by Camden, together with a crest; *on a mount vert, a lamb proper, holding a banner azure charged with a woolsack argent, the staff or.* Both arms and crest allude to the woollen cloth trade of the town.

In addition to arms that were formally granted by the Heralds' College, there are, as I have already said, many that have been formed during the same period, by placing upon shields the devices of common and official seals. There are also others to be found on seals and other contemporary authorities, that resemble in character the productions of the Heralds' College, but no certain evidence of their origin is forthcoming.



ARMS OF THE TOWN OF READING.

It is, however, curious that in a good many cases the appearance of these particular arms is coincident with the dates of various heralds' visitations at which they were duly admitted and allowed, and I think there can be little doubt that most, if not all of them, were invented by the heralds themselves to gratify the vanity of the corporations, and perhaps in consideration of a larger fee than that charged for a formal grant of arms.

Of arms formed of devices of seals, we have those of Barnstaple and Torrington (1564), Bridport (1565), Windsor and Reading (1566), Pontefract (1584-5), Totnes (1620), and Weymouth (1623); all allowed at the

river Torridge. From the cusped circle that encloses this has been evolved the bordure engrailed.

It is obvious that the shields thus derived must vary considerably in interest and excellence. To such as that of Portsmouth, *azure, a star within the horns of a crescent or*, or of Leicester, *gules, a cinquefoil ermine*, the badge of the ancient earls of Leicester, no possible objection can be made, but compositions like the arms of Bath, or Bridport, or Windsor can only be compared with some of the productions that have emanated from the Heralds' College.



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF PORTSMOUTH.

Amongst arms for which no formal grant exists that seem from their character to have been concocted by the heralds at their visitations, at which they were allowed, are those of Poole and Marlborough (1565), Woodstock (1574), and Beverley (1584-5). To which may be added those of Grantham (seal of 1581), and of Westbury (seal of 1597).

Three of these have chiefs or charges in chief, and three have bordures.

The Poole arms are variously blazoned, but they are almost certainly derived from those of James Blount, lord Mountjoy, who was lord of the manor 1544-1581, *barry nebulée or and sable*, with added charges allusive of the town's maritime position. They should probably therefore be blazoned:—



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF POOLE.

Barry wavy sable and or, a dolphin argent and in chief three escallops gold.

The arms of Woodstock, partly allude to the place-name and partly to the neighbouring forest, and are *gules, the stock of a tree erased or, and in chief three stags' heads caboshed argent; all within a bordure silver charged with eight oak trees (or leaves).*

The Beverley arms, *argent, three bars azure, on a chief of the last a beaver couchant regardant or*, are often borne quartered with *or, an eagle displayed azure*, perhaps in allusion to St. John the Evangelist, in whose honour the noble minster is dedicated. The arms are thus shown on the waits' badges made in 1573, and in the Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584-5.

The Marlborough arms are worthy of being compared with those that were devised for the city of Gloucester by Barker in 1538. They are: *per saltire gules and azure, two cocks in fess between a bull statant in chief and three greyhounds courant in pale in base, all argent; on a chief or, between two roses gules, a pale azure thereon a castle silver.* These extraordinary arms were probably concocted by Hervy, Clarencieux, at his Visitation in 1565, when he "ratified and confirmed" them in perpetual memory of "the duty and homage heretofore said and done (time out of mind) by the burgesses and community to the mayor for the time being, his aldermen and brethren of the said town, at the receiving of the oath by any burgess by them admitted; at which time they do present unto the mayor a leash of white greyhounds, one white bull, and two white capons."¹ The castle is taken from the device of the old seal.

The Grantham arms are composed of the gold and blue checkers of the De Warennes, the ancient lords of the town, within a bordure sable charged with eight silver trefoils, the origin of which I have not yet been able to discover.

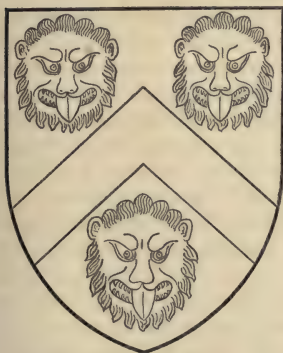
The arms of Westbury are: *quarterly or and azure, a cross quartered patonce and fleury, and a bordure charged with twenty lioncels, all counterchanged.* These are partly made up of the Pavely arms, *azure, a cross fleury (or patonce) or*, and partly of those of Longespée, *azure, six*

¹ William Berry, *Encyclopædia Heraldica* (London), i. s.v. Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate, &c.

lioncels or, but the quartered cross, which seems to have hitherto escaped notice, has yet to be fully explained. It is plainly shown on the town seal, which was given in 1597, and may represent a combination of two differenced shields of Pavely.

Besides the arms already described there are many, neither derived from seals nor recorded to have been granted, of which it is difficult to learn the origin and in some cases to fix a date.

A few from their good and simple character perhaps had an early origin, even previous to the establishment of the Heralds' College. Amongst these are the arms of



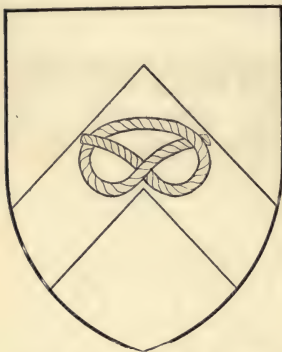
ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF
STRATFORD-ON-AVON.



ARMS OF THE BOROUGH OF
BANBURY.

Newcastle, *gules*, three castles two and one *argent*; Boston, *sable*, three crowns in pale *or* (on the seal of 1545); Stratford-on-Avon, *or* a chevron *azure* between three lion's faces *gules* (on the seal of 1553); Southwold, *sable*, two arrows in saltire enfiled with a coronet, with the letter *S* in base, all *or* (before 1561); and Bedford, *per pale argent and gules*, a bend *azure* (Visitation of 1566). To which may be added as examples of simple arms the golden saltire of St. Albans (seal of 1554), the blazing sun of Banbury (seal of 1584?), and the Durham cross (seal of 1606), the golden fleece of Leeds (seal of 1626) and the bars of Salisbury (Visitation of 1623), and the punning

arms of St. Ives, *argent, an ivy branch vert*, given on the seal of 1690.



ARMS OF THE TOWN OF STAFFORD.

The meaning or origin of these arms, is not always apparent. Those of Southwold plainly refer to St. Edmund, and the golden fleece of Leeds to the staple trade of the place, while the town of St. Albans has appropriated the arms of the suppressed abbey. The arms of Stratford closely resemble those of William Hervy, Clarencieux King of Arms, who may have granted them. Another shield, that found on the great mace of Stafford (1613-14) and Speed's map of 1610, *or, on a chevron gules a Stafford knot argent* (?) is a pretty difference of the well-known arms of the family of the same name. Those of Newport (Mon.), *or, a chevron reversed gules*, may be another way of differencing the same arms.

From 1635 to 1842, with the possible exception of Richmond (Yorks), which is stated to have received a grant of arms in 1665, no armorial ensigns seem to have been granted to any city or town, save Liverpool. Although this important place had had its first charter so long ago as 1207, it remained without arms until 1797, when there were granted to it, *argent, a cormorant holding in his beak a branch of seaweed proper*, with crest and supporters to match.

There is, however, no reason to assume that during these two centuries no other towns adopted arms. On the contrary, the formation of arms by placing upon shields the devices of seals continually went on, as at Guildford and Northampton, and a few towns, as is shown by their shields and maces, etc. adopted arms of good character. Two of these deserve special mention. On the seal made in 1626 for the town of Leeds when it was first incorporated is a shield bearing the golden fleece, supported

by two crowned owls. The fleece of course alludes to the wool trade of Leeds, and the owls were adopted in honour of Sir John Saville, knight, the first alderman, who bore owls as his arms and crest.

In 1662, on the granting of the second charter, a new seal was made, with the addition to the arms of *a chief sable charged with three silver mullets*. These were added to commemorate the first mayor, Thomas Danby, who bore a similar chief in his own arms. Despite the breach of heraldic law in placing colour upon colour, it must be allowed that the town-folk devised for themselves a pretty and most appropriate shield of arms.



ARMS OF THE CITY OF LEEDS.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the city of Chester used a second shield of arms, of better design than, if not of so much historic interest as its thirteenth century arms. It is simply the arms of the ancient earldom of Chester, *azure three garbs or*, surmounted by the sword of state in pale *proper*.

Of the arms assumed by or granted to the numerous towns that have sprung up or been incorporated since 1836 it is unnecessary to speak. I will only say that nearly one hundred arms and crests have during these sixty years been added to our list, and that they are generally thoroughly unworthy of the nineteenth century.

I have so far only treated of the arms borne by our municipalities, but there are a few words to be said on the question of crests and supporters. Theoretically the use of a crest by a corporation is an absurdity, since a crest is essentially the ornament that surmounts a helm, and a corporation not being an individual cannot wear a helm, nor properly treat it even as a device. A similar objection may be taken to the use of shields, but from very early times these were used as ornaments and for

decorative purposes, and while heraldry was a living science were allowed to be borne by towns. It being conceded that shields might be assumed by corporations, the use of supporters, would naturally follow, yet as a matter of fact, no city or town, previously to 1500, appears to have used either a crest or supporters proper. A few cases occur where a shield or badge on a seal is accompanied by true supporters, as on the Colchester seal, where the shield is held by two lions, and on the Congleton seal, where two conger eels stand on their tails in the manner and place of supporters, on either side of a lion and tun. But in neither case nor in any other has the use of these creatures as permanent supporters continued. In a few examples, the beasts that are so often introduced at the sides of seals to fill up otherwise vacant spaces have been transferred with the device into a shield, as at Northampton, where two lions supporting a castle have been so derived. There is, however, no example of the use of permanent supporters before 1561.

The earliest instance of a crest by a municipality is furnished by the counterseal of the city of London, which was made in 1539 in place of an older one then broken because it bore an image of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The new seal, which is that now in use, bears the city arms surmounted by a helm, mantling and crest, *a dragon's wing expanded argent, charged with a cross gules*, in allusion to the monster slain by St. George.

There seem to be no other examples earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, when grants of crests and, for the first time, of supporters were made to Ipswich and Newark (1561), Exeter (1564), Bristol (1569?), Cambridge, Southampton and Newcastle (1575), Chester (1580), and a few other places. Crests only were granted to Boston (1568), Launceston (1573), Sudbury (1576), and Eye (1592), and probably to Southwold (1561).

A few cases also occur in the seventeenth century, *e.g.*, Bury St. Edmunds (arms and crest, 1606), Hadleigh (arms and crest, 1618), Hereford (arms, crest and supporters, 1645), and perhaps of crest and supporters to the city of Oxford.

But by far the greater number of our old cities and towns, including York, Lincoln, Norwich, Carlisle, Lynn,

Shrewsbury, Plymouth, and Gloucester, have never used either crests or supporters.

There are many other interesting points in connection with municipal heraldry which might properly have been included in this paper, but its already undue length compels me to omit them on this occasion. The subject is by no means exhausted, and the various arms I have referred to only form part of what are known and have been selected as good and typical examples.

It is possible that many of the derivations of the arms which I have suggested may be open to question, but if the new light now thrown upon the origin of municipal heraldry will tempt someone else to pursue the subject further, my own humble endeavours in that direction will not have been in vain.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 3rd, 1895.

E. GREEN, F.S.A. (*Hon. Director*), in the Chair.

The Chairman in opening the meeting alluded to the serious loss the Institute had sustained by the deaths of Sir John Maclean, an Honorary Vice-President, and the Rev. Precentor Venables, an old member of Council. Both these gentlemen had contributed papers to the *Journal*. Precentor Venables was one of the oldest members of the Institute having joined in the year 1845. In addition to his numerous contributions to the *Journal*, he was the author of many books including the *History of the Church of Great St. Mary, Cambridge*; the *History of Herstmonceaux Castle*; the *History of the Isle of Wight*, and innumerable papers on the Cathedral Church and the City of Lincoln. Sir John Maclean was also a prolific writer, he published numerous works relating to the counties of Cornwall and Devon, the most important being his *History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor, Cornwall*. To the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Sir John also contributed many papers.

Mr. HERBERT JONES, F.S.A., read a paper on "Some Roman remains recently found in Threadneedle Street."

"The banking-house lately occupied by the old firm of Prescott, Grote & Co., on the north side of Threadneedle-street, opposite the Royal Exchange and standing between the Sun and the North British and Mercantile Insurance offices, has lately been demolished, and excavations nearly 30 feet in depth have been made upon the site for the extension of the premises of the Sun Insurance Company. In the course of the work the mediæval remains of the Church of St. Bartholomew, which was destroyed by the fire of London and not rebuilt, were found. These remains consisted of thick walls, chiefly of Kentish rag-stone and chalk, and were probably of fifteenth-century date. Nearly all were already destroyed by the workmen upon my first visit to the spot, and a mass of human remains found under the church had also been removed. The only remaining object connected with the church was the fragment of a gravestone of the seventeenth century, bearing a Dutch or Low German inscription. As the clearing of the site proceeded, a large number of articles were found, such as are usually met with in London excavations, but many in better condition than is common. There was a small quantity of mediæval pottery in fragments, several good sixteenth and seventeenth century grey beards, and much earthenware of a later date, some, apparently, from a chemist's shop. As the site has been occupied by a banking-house since about the date 1730, it is probable that these finds dated from a period earlier

than that year. On reaching the Roman level, at a depth of about 20 feet from the surface, fragments of Roman pottery and glass appeared and one or two small vessels nearly perfect were also found, all of the usual class. No Roman walling *in situ* was found until the excavators arrived at a depth of 27 feet, when the shallow tank shown in the photograph and plan was exposed. As almost invariably happens in such cases, a large part of it was hacked away by the excavators before any one found out what they had discovered; but, fortunately, sufficient was left to enable its general design and dimensions to be ascertained.

It was a shallow bath or tank for water 5 feet 3 inches square, internal dimensions; 2 feet deep with one angle (that approximately N.W.) cut off. From the line of wall filling in this angle projected two semicircular steps, giving access to the bath, the upper 9 inches in extreme width, the lower projecting a further $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the height of each being 11 inches. The tops were rounded off to avoid a sharp angle. The whole structure was built of rough stone, chiefly Kentish rag, mixed with many broken flanged roof tiles, and where the western wall had been broken away a line of broken tiles, with their flanges uppermost in a line with the inner face of the wall, formed the foundation course. The floor of the tank was of very good and hard *opus signinum*, and the walls plastered internally with a fine hard plaster. As shown in the photograph, the side walls were much broken away, probably before their recent discovery, but this is not quite certain. The whole structure rested on a thick bed of concrete (well shown in the photograph) carried down to the solid London clay. Near the centre of the tank, embedded in the *opus signinum*, lay a flat flagstone, or tile, 18 inches long by 9 inches broad. This, as well as specimens of the *opus signinum*, has been preserved.

This structure had evidently been part of a larger building, of which it was the sole remnant, and was probably the cold water tank of a small private bath, very similar to that at Chedworth, where the cold water tank is about 6 feet by 9 feet. It probably escaped destruction by lying at a slightly lower level than the rest of the bath chambers. It was clearly intended to hold water, although no means of supply to it nor drain from it could be found, but these may well have existed in the part destroyed at the time of its discovery. Had it been possible to follow out the excavations in an easterly direction, most probably more walling would have been discovered, but this was quite impracticable, the ground being occupied by the buildings of the North British Insurance Company."

Mr. Jones exhibited a plan and various photographs in illustration of his paper.

Mr. W. PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Court of Star Chamber with illustrative cases." Mr. Baildon traced the origin of the Court from that residuum of jurisdiction which was left in the Council after the formation of the various Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, &c. The cases reserved for, or heard by the Council, were those which in their nature were cognizable at common law, but which from individual circumstances were of great importance or of an extraordinary character, "whenever, in fact, either from defect of legal authority to give judgment, or from

want of weight, necessary to carry their decision into effect, the law courts were likely to prove inefficient, then the Council stepped in, by summoning before it defendants and accusers.¹

The Statute of 3 Henry VII. cap. 7, is often stated to have created the Court of Star Chamber, but Mr. Baildon pointed out that this view is certainly wrong, and cited numerous instances of its jurisdiction before that date. The building in which the Court sat and from which it took its name, was situated on the east side of Palace Yard at Westminster; the last remaining portion of this was taken down as recently as 1836. Mr. Baildon then treated of the origin and meaning of the name "Star Chamber," and criticised the various explanations of it. By going to the only trustworthy source of information in matters of this kind, viz., the original documents, Mr. Baildon appears to have finally settled this somewhat vexed question. He has found at the Public Record Office the accounts of the various clerks of the works and others engaged in conducting the building operations at Westminster Palace during the reign of Edward III. From these it appears that the Star Chamber was the name given to a new Council Chamber commenced in 1347 and finished in the following year. The earliest recorded use of the name Mr. Baildon has been able to discover, occurs in one of these accounts, probably in January or February, 1348, when six tilers were paid 54s. for working for 18 days on the repair of the roof of the house called "Sterred Chamber" within the Palace. The roof, if we may judge from an entry just before this, had been stripped by the strong gales (*per validos ventus*.) From this date the instances of the name are fairly frequent, under various forms:—*camera stellata*, *chaumbre estoillee*, *chambre des esteilles*, Starred, Sterne, or Star Chamber. Mr. Baildon insisted that the name, as the various forms of it show, was derived from some decoration, most probably of the ceiling, and would have none of Blackstone's ingenious theory as to the Jewish *Starra*. He pointed out that there were several difficulties in this derivation. First, the short space of time between the banishment of the Jews in 1290 and the mention of the "Sterred Chambre" in 1348, only 58 years; it seems hardly possible that the real meaning of the name could have been so soon forgotten by the officials of the Palace. 2. The theory involves an involuntary pun or confusion of meanings which is only possible in English, and as the language of the Court would be French and that of its records either French or Latin, probably the latter, it is difficult to see how such confusion could arise. 3. The earliest English form of the name seems to have been not "star," but "sterne," or "starred," chamber, which was still used as late as the reign of Henry VIII. The word starred is the exact equivalent of *stellata* or *estoillée* and is synonymous with starry; an epithet which could be appropriately applied to a room whose ceiling was decorated with stars; but which could not well be used of a room which was a depository for "*starra*." 4. It seems quite clear that the name "Starred Chamber" was applied to a new room. If Blackstone's theory were correct, we should expect to find some mention of it by that, or some kindred name, during the time that the room was used (as alleged) as a depository for *starra*, or, at any rate, shortly afterwards. But no,

¹ Dicey, *Privy Council*.

there is no trace of any "Star Chamber" until Edward III. built his new Council Chamber, and christened it after the most prominent feature of its decoration.

Mr. Baildon traced the history of the Court through the various reigns, until its final abolition by the Long Parliament in 1641, and called attention to the incomplete state of the Calendar of Pleadings at the Record Office, which ends at the reign of Elizabeth. It is much to be regretted that the calendar stops here, in consequence of which the pleadings and depositions for the two succeeding reigns are practically inaccessible. No class of Public Records gives a more vivid and picturesque view of the social and domestic life of the period than the Star Chamber documents; it is therefore to be hoped that the continuation of the calendar for the reigns of James I. and Charles I. will shortly be put in hand.

No records of the Court, other than the pleadings and depositions, are known to exist. The Decree and Order Books are missing. In a Report of a Committee of the House of Lords in 1719 it is stated that "the last notice of them that could be got was that they were in a house in St. Bartholomew's Close, London."

In the reign of James I. the Court does not seem to have been much abused by the ministers of the Crown, but under Charles I. it was used as an instrument for oppression of the worse kind; and it was in this period that the Court acquired that unenviable reputation which has rendered it a by-word in English history, and which finally led to its overthrow. The cases of Hampden, Lilburne, and Prynne are typical examples.

Mr. Baildon then explained the somewhat anomalous procedure of the Court in detail, and gave numerous quotations from a volume of reports from 1593 to 1609, recently edited by him for Mr. Alfred Morrison of Fonthill House, from a MS. in his well-known collection.

May 1st, 1895.

CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. T. J. WILLSON read a paper entitled, "Notes on the structure of Lincoln Castle." Various features were described by Mr. Willson, more especially the evidence of hoardings or arrangements of timber, horizontal and vertical, set upon the tops of the curtain walls. Mr. Willson also contended that the earthworks, although pronounced to be "Old English" in origin, are in reality only the mounds and ditches thrown up just before the year 1100. Considerable discussion followed the reading of the paper, Mr. Fox and Mr. HOPE strongly dissenting from this theory.

CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, read a paper on "The Collection of Chap books, in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana in Tullie House, Carlisle, with remarks on the history of printing in the North of England." The Chancellor quoted Halliwell's definition of a Chap book as "a little book printed for the purpose of being sold to hawkers," generally printed upon a sheet of coarse grey paper, folded so as to make a little stitched book, generally of eight pages, but sometimes extended to twenty-four pages. Chap books were illustrated with rude and hideous pictures printed from well worn wood blocks, which have been used over and over again, and frequently applied to the most

inappropriate subjects; a cut of Robinson Crusoe being sometimes used for the Prodigal Son, and a portrait of a 17th century divine doing duty not only for Dr. Isaac Watts, but also for Mahomet! These blocks were frequently of great antiquity having been passed on from one jobbing printer to another, as will presently appear.

The principal factory for the manufactory of Chap books was No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard, afterwards Bow Churchyard, and the publishers were the Diceys, who originally came from Northampton, where they were about 1720-1725. From the Diceys have come most of the original Chap books, but they were pirated by country printers, particularly at Newcastle. Chap books flourished, for they were the sole literature of the poor until the *Penny Magazine* and Chambers' penny tracts and miscellanies gave them their death. A large class of chap books consisted of "Garlands of Songs; each garland containing five or six ballads or songs; these had a great popularity, but were superseded by the competition of the "Pinner-up" and "Long-Song-Sellers," both of whom sold yard long slips of new and popular songs. The "Pinner-up" displayed their wares on an old blanket fastened to a dead wall, or other convenient place, while the "Long-Song-Sellers" carried their wares on a tall pole, crying "Three yards a penny, songs, beautiful songs, nooest songs."

From about 1666 to 1708 there was no printing press in the North of England above York, and at York was one White, "sole printer to King William for the five northern counties of England." He had in his stock some of the actual wood blocks that had been cut for Caxton, Wynken de Worde, Pynson, &c. With this stock his son John White in 1708 started in business in Newcastle, and was afterwards in partnership with Thomas Saint, who succeeded him and was the first to employ the brothers Bewick as engravers. From the Newcastle press, the printing offices in Cumberland and Westmorland sprang, using at first discarded blocks and type from Newcastle.

The collection of Chap books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana was formed by the late Mr. William Jackson, F.S.A., and consists of about 180, of which the greater part were printed in Cumberland or Westmorland, no fewer than 66 at Penrith. The Chancellor concluded his paper by a brief account of the collection of Chap books which he exhibited. He also exhibited a collection of about 90, mainly printed in Scotland which he had recently acquired, one or two battledores, on cards for the purpose of teaching children to read, having on them pictorial alphabets, and short prayers; and also lottery papers, which children used to cut up and gamble with, the currency being pins.

June 5th, 1895.

T. H. BATLIS, Q.C., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A., exhibited seven palæolithic flint implements found in Kent. One, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, formed of a well trimmed flake, was picked up on the road at Swanscombe, and the others were found on the beach near Reculver. The latter although found on the beach are derived from the upper part of the cliff which is continually falling, in consequence of the undermining of the base by the sea. Palæolithic implements were first found at

this place in 1860 (*Evans' Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 533 *et seq.*). Amongst those exhibited was a fine implement 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, the pointed end well worked, whilst the butt shows the crust of the flint; another five inches in length, neatly chipped all over, is of similar type to that from Gray's Inn Lane (*Evans' No. 451.*) This example, as well as a large scraper, is stained of an ochreous colour. Of the other implements, one is somewhat similar to that found at Studhill, near Herne Bay, and figured in *Evans'*, No. 462. Another large one, much waterworn and wanting its point, is of the same type as that from Reculver figured in *Evans'*, No. 458. The remaining example is of oval shape and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, a form of implement not frequently met with at Reculver. This specimen, which is also much water worn, by having been washed about on the beach, was found nearer Herne Bay and resembles the implement from Hill Head engraved in *Evans'*, No. 466.

Mr. J. L. ANDRÉ, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Antiquarian Notes on the Rose." This paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Rev. Canon RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A., read a paper on "The British Part of the Itinerary of the Provinces called Antonine's Itinerary." Canon Raven said the attempt which is made on this occasion to exhibit a map of England according to the *Itinerary of the Provinces*, better known by the name of Antoninus, is made relying on your indulgent consideration, and in a deep sense of the difficulty of the subject. Everything, however important, which does not occur in the Itinerary has been excluded, that as far as possible that document might tell its own story.

No MS. remains earlier than the eighth century, and of those remaining the best seems to be that at Vienna, distinguished by the letter L in Parthey and Pinder's catalogue. The text which I follow is theirs (Berlin, 1848), edited with a most careful recension of twenty-one manuscripts.

From the date of the measures on the Appian Way to that indicated by the name Diocletianopolis, between Edessa and Thessalonica, there is a chasm of nearly six centuries, but as a whole I agree with those who regard the mass of the work as dating from about A.D. 200. In 202 M. Aurelius Antoninus, better known as Caracalla, was associated with his father L. Septimius Severus, in the Empire and the Consulship, and an inscription preserved at Vienna records their restoration of worn-out milestones. Thus there is a strong presumption for a survey and record of mileage at or about that time.

In 211 Severus died at York, and during the two centuries of the Roman occupation which followed his death, road making of course greatly developed itself. We may regard the British part of the Itinerary as by no means exhausting the Roman roads of England, or even completing the lengths of those enumerated. It is in somewhat the same relation to a road-book of the time of the *Notitia Imperii* as a railway guide of 1845 would be to one of the present day. This consideration may prepare the mind for the generally tortuous character of the routes, and for the occasional termination of a road at no place in particular. Indeed, it is possible that the post-itinerary roads were some of the best, and in the end the most frequented.

The length of the Roman mile, as estimated at 1618 yards is accepted here, having been settled by better examples than England can produce. Rigorous exactitude as to the numbers of miles is forbidden by the letters *mpm*, which does not signify *millia passuum*, but *millia plus minus*. The witnesses for this conclusion are the occurrence of *plus minus* in conjunction with the Gallic word *leuga*, a league, in the opening of the Jerusalem Itinerary, and such expressions as "non longius abesse plus minus octo millibus" (Hist. B. G. viii. 20), "Alexandria clarissima femina vixit annos plus minus xxv," from an inscription A.D. 465, quoted by Wesseling,¹ &c. Indeed common sense would show that in partially settled districts, when some of the stations were *mutationes*, or places for changing horses, consisting of two or three houses, occurring between one milestone and the next, accuracy would be impossible, except by going into fractions.

Early tracks had a tendency to curl along the watersheds, to avoid crossings, and when such were inevitable it often happened that the deposit just below the entrance of an affluent determined the position of a ford. The dry beds of brooks in the summer seem to have been utilised, and by degrees paths were formed a few yards from the beds, which could be used all the year round. Such elements had a potent influence in determining the eventual course of great highways and of modern railways, and the position of great seats of commerce and centres of christianity and civilisation.

No doubt a great function of the Roman road-maker was to straighten and improve these tracks, and a glance at the Antonine Map will show, as might be expected, that such improvements are most marked in the south-east of our island, and in the roads emerging from London.

That London was at this time a place of the highest consequence will not be doubted by a student of Antonine's Itinerary, and the fact that *Londinium*, occurring eleven times in the record, is the constant form, gives a presumption in favour of the date assigned, the change to *Augusta* (330-390) noted by Ammianus Marcellinus ("Lundinium, vetus oppidum. quod Augustam postoritas appellavit" Amm. Marc., xxviii. 8) not having taken place. The precise position of the ferry here I would not dogmatize upon, though I confess a predilection for London Bridge. It is not the only instance of a ferry in these routes.

The mention of the Second Legion at Caerleon-on-Usk, of the Sixth at York, and the Twentieth at Chester, undoubtedly show the importance of the Itinerary in a military point of view. But there is only one other mention of soldiers; not even at Colchester, where the fine monument to Favonius, a centurion of the Twentieth Legion, may be seen in the Castle Museum, or at Richborough, Dover, and Lympne, where the *Notitia Imperii* gives the detail of the troops. That one other mention of soldiers is the station *Castra Exploratorum* on the Second Iter, between Boulness and Carlisle identified by Chancellor Ferguson with Netherby. The general impression conveyed by the configuration of these circuits, as some of them may be

¹ Annotations on Ant. Itin., p. 5.

justly called, is that they served judicial and fiscal purposes, of which we find both cared for in the *Notitia*.

There are fifteen routes which I have distinguished by such varieties of colouring as were at my disposal. According to the map which I present to you—

The First Iter is from Rochester in Northumberland to Patrington.

The Second Iter is from Middleby, near Boulness, to Richborough.

The Third from London to Dover.

The Fourth, coinciding with the Third as far as Canterbury, from London to Lympne in Romney Marsh.

The Fifth from London to Carlisle.

The Sixth from London to Lincoln.

The Seventh from Chichester to London.

The Eighth from York to London, northward extension of the Sixth.

The Ninth from Norwich to London.

The Tenth, the most difficult and obscure of all, but according to the theory which I accept, from Whitby Castle in Northumberland to Chesterton in Cheshire.

The Eleventh from Carnarvon, or rather Llanbeblig to Chester.

The Twelfth from Carmarthen to Wroxeter.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth from Caerlon-on-Usk to Silchester, the former by Gloucester, the latter crossing the Severn by a ferry and going by Bath.

The Fifteenth from Silchester to Exeter.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES ON THE ROSE.¹

By J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

The Rose is described in English Dictionaries either as "a medicinal flower," "a very sweet flower," "a very fragrant flower," or, "a plant and flower of many species"—definitions which give but a faint and poor idea of that Queen of Flowers which has held such a prominent place in Art, Poetry, Legend, Religion, Heraldry, etc. The name is almost the same in many languages, and as formerly planets were supposed to exercise their influence over plants, as well as on men and metals, roses were reputed to be under their governance, the red beneath that of Jupiter, the damask under that of Venus, and the white owed obedience to the Moon. Also as all the animals before the fall of man were said to have been harmless, so were herbs held to have been without poison, and for this reason Milton tells us that in Eden there were

"Flowers of all hue and without thorn the rose."

Paradise Lost, Bk. IV, line 256.

Rutherford, a preacher of the same century in which Milton flourished, was also of opinion that the roses and lilies "no doubt had more sweetness of beauty and smell before the sin of man had made them vanity-sick."²

Considering the poetical character of so much of the Sacred Scriptures, it is remarkable that only one allusion to the rose is made in them, and this occurs in Isaiah, where the prophet says that "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." It is true that in the Song of Solomon the second chapter begins with "I am the rose of Sharon," in the English version, but this can hardly be considered a satisfactory explanation of the text, as according to Dr. Littledale "it is rendered in the Syriac,

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, June 5, 1895.

² Buckle's *Hist. of Civilisation*, vol. ii. p. 383.

LXX, and Vulgate, *flower of the plain*, and modern critics, for the most part, hold that the narcissus, not the rose, is the plant intended."¹

Do we wish to know why some roses are red and others white? Sir John Mandeville can tell us, for speaking of Bethlehem, he says:—

"Between the Cytte and the church is the Felde Floridus, that is to seyne the feld flourished: For als much as a fayre maiden was blamed with wrong and schlandered . . . for which cause she was demed to the dethe and to be brent in that place to which sche was ladd, and as the fyre began to brenne about hire sche made hire prayers to oure Lord, that als wissely as sche was not gyilty of that Synne, that he wolde help hire and make it knowen to alle menne of hys mercyfulle grace. And whan sche had thus seyde sche entered into the Fyre, and anon was the Fyer qwenched and owte, and the brondes that weren brennyng becomen rede Roseres and the Brondes that weren not kyndled becomen white Roseres fulle of Roses, and these were the first Roseres and Roses, bothe white and rede that evere ony man saughe. And thus was the maiden saved by the Grace of God. And therefore is that feld clept the feld of God florysch for it was full of roses."²

The ancient Greeks were especially fond of the rose, and Anacreon in his Odes speaks of it in very laudatory terms. It is, he says, a transcendent flower, a delight even to the gods—the breath of gods—the enchantment of mortals, and the play-toy of Venus. Sappho, also, in her poems, expresses an equal fondness for the rose. With the Greeks, Archbishop Potter says, "it was the emblem of silence, when to present it, or hold it up to any person in discourse, served instead of an admonition that it was time for him to hold his peace; and in entertaining rooms," he continues, "it was customary to place a rose above the table to signify that what was there spoken should be kept private."³ This custom appears to have been preserved down to recent times, and in countries far away from Greece, for Peacham in his

¹ *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, p. 56.

³ *Antiquities of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 385.

² Mandeville, ch. vi., ed. Halliwell.

Truth of our Times, published in 1638, writes that "in many places, as well in England, as in the Low-Countries, they have over their tables the rose painted, and what is spoken under the rose must not be revealed";¹ and Aubrey, a little later than Peacham, also alludes to this custom in his *Remains of Gentilism and Judaism*, "Nazianzen," he says, "makes the rose the symbol of silence, and the ancient custome in Symposical meetings was to weave chaplets of roses about their heads; and so we condemne not the Garman custome which over the table describeth a rose in the ceiling."² Perhaps it is worth mention here that a rose of large size forms the centre of the mediæval round table preserved at Winchester, popularly but erroneously supposed to be the one around which King Arthur and his knights assembled. The saying "under the rose," probably originated from the above custom.

Another practice of the Greeks has come down to us with greater certainty, namely, that of bedecking graves with roses. Anacreon says that this flower drives away maladies and prolongs life, that the graves of the dead are protected by it as by an amulet.³ Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, quotes Malkin to the effect that in South Wales it was the custom to plant white roses on the graves of unmarried women, and red on those of good or benevolent persons.⁴ About fifty years ago it was very unusual to find flowers of any kind planted on English graves, and therefore Allen in his *History of Surrey* records as a remarkable fact that at Ockley in that county "it was formerly the custom" . . . "that if either of two contracted parties died before marriage, the survivor planted roses at the head of the grave of the deceased."⁵ Garlands of white paper roses were, it is well known, hung up in Derbyshire churches and elsewhere, over the seats of persons who had died in early youth or unmarried, and the custom existed till quite recent times. In connection with the Greek use of roses on graves, it may be mentioned that the modern Copts in their ritual represent

¹ p. 173, Brand, vol. ii. p. 347.

² *Remains, &c.*, p. 110, ed. *Folk Lore Society*.

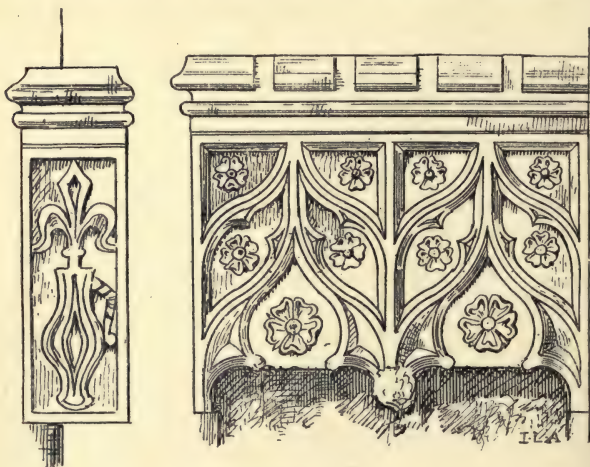
³ See Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 233.

⁴ Brand, vol. ii. p. 310.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 209.

the burial of our Lord on Good Friday, by placing the altar cross on a bed of roses, in a recess east of the altar.¹

The modern Greeks appear to have preserved the idea of the rose having the properties of an amulet, for a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* tells us that on September 11th of each year, two roses are taken by the peasants near Mount Olympus, and these, after having been blessed, are "broken up and scattered about the first field which is sown that year, as a sure emblem of



COWFOLD, SUSSEX.

abundance and success.”² In Russia a charm still used by the peasantry has reference to a story to the effect that our Lord passing over a field with roses in his hands, the flowers mysteriously disappeared.³

In the middle ages the white rose was considered the emblem of virgins and confessors, and the red of martyrs. Ælfric, an Anglo-Saxon bishop, in a somewhat similar fashion tells us that God’s church in peace has lilies, that is a pure life-course, in strife roses, that is martyrdom.

¹ See *Art Journal*, 1885, p. 151.

³ See *Folk Lore*, vol. vi. p. 89.

² *Greek Peasant Life*, in *Fortnightly Review*, Aug. 1886, p. 227.

The rose in Christian art and legend holds its chief place in connection with the Blessed Virgin, as it has been universally associated with her, and deemed her especial flower. At Cowfold, Sussex, portions of the reredos or canopy still remaining over the lady altar are adorned with the lily-pot on the one side, whilst two traceried arches in front are decorated with roses freely introduced. Another example is furnished by some stained glass in Brown's Bede-House at Stamford, where St. Mary is seen with her head surrounded by a rose-bedecked nimbus, whilst she holds a lily branch with three flowers in one hand, and a branch with three roses, in the other. Again, at Fovant, Wiltshire, there is a brass dated 1492, having on it a representation of the Annunciation the background of which is covered with roses. Another brass dated 1460, formerly in Westminster Abbey, had in its canopy a rose of five leaves with the letters *M.A.R.I.A.* inscribed, one on each petal, the monogram of our Lord forming the centre, whilst surrounding the whole was the couplet

*Sis rosa flos florum
Morbis medicina reorum.*

Sometimes half a rose was joined to the letter *M*, as on the inscription on the brass to Sir George Felbrigg, formerly at St. Mary's, Playford, Suffolk, where the device is placed between each of the words. As an emblem of the Blessed Virgin the rose is seen on the brass of John Byrkhed, 1418, at Harrow, Middlesex, where it is on the morse of the cope, surrounded by a rayed glory. A similar rose in glory may be seen on the brass to Robert Langton, *circa* 1520, at Queen's College, Oxford.

Apart from any reference to St. Mary several other brasses had the rose prominently introduced; one of these at St. Peter's, St. Albans, had a rose of four petals, so arranged as to form a cruciform design; within a central circle was the word *Eccc*, and on the leaves *qd expēdi habui*, *qd donauī habeo*, *qd negauī punior*, *qd sūauī pōidi*, and around was an English rendering of this inscription. Although no longer in its original position, this device is believed to be preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. An almost identical example is said to be now in the chapel of Ashridge House, Hertfordshire, it is engraved



LITTLETON, MIDDLESEX,
Half Linear.

in Haines.¹ Two roses bearing the words *Hu- Ma-*, form part of a brass at Littleton, Middlesex, *circa* 1450, but the arms and inscription, now on the same slab, do not belong to this memorial. At Ely Cathedral, the brass to Bishop Thomas Goodryke 1554, has the evangelistic symbols within roses. Haines mentions a brass at Ashford, Kent, *circa* 1490, on which is engraved "an angel holding an inscription encircled by a wreath of roses."²

To return to the rose in association with the Blessed Virgin, we sometimes find her image surrounded by roses,



ELY CATHEDRAL.
Half Linear.

as in a picture by Seghers now in the collection at Hampton Court. At other times she is seen standing in a garden of roses, examples occur in German and Italian art. When the cross and the rose are seen together in art, they doubtless have reference to our Lord and his Mother. A remarkable instance of this is furnished by the corporation seal of Carlisle which has on one side the figure of St. Mary with the usual legend *Ave Maria*, etc.,

¹ *Haines*, vol. i. p. cx.

² *Ibid.*, p. cxi.

encircling it, and on the reverse a cross between four roses with a fifth at the intersection of the limbs.¹

A favourite idea with mediæval writers compared Mary to a rose blossoming on the thorny stem of Judea; it occurs in a poem by Sedulius,² and in a sermon by St. Peter Damian, whilst it formed part of an anthem sung daily by the knights of the French Order of the Star, founded in 1351, by King John II. A somewhat similar conceit is in the sequence for the Feast of the Assumption in the Sarum missal—

“From our first mother Eve’s sickly branch,
Mary the blossoming rose proceeded forth.”³

Several old English bells are inscribed—

“*Sum rosa pulsata mundi Maria vocata.*”

Examples are met with at Dickleborough, Norfolk, and Titsey, Surrey. A variation of it is seen at Catsfield, Sussex, where there is a bell inscribed—

“*Sum Rosa Pulsata Mundi Katerina Vocata.*”

The devotion called the Rosary, or occasionally the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin, is said to be offered to St. Mary as a crown of roses. This is emblematically represented in some stained glass at Raby Castle, where a circle of beads is seen divided by five roses, each flower enclosing one of the emblems of the five wounds; surrounding the whole is the following inscription.—

*Aue . piissima . birgo . maria . q’ . es . rubens . rosa . et super
omnem creatura indumeto . dibini . amoris . induta.*

The Dominican order is closely connected with the devotion of the rosary, on its feast which occurs early in October, roses blessed in the churches of the friars are distributed to the people. Roger de la Zouche granted certain lands by the tenure of providing a chaplet of roses for the image of St. John the Baptist at Tong, Salop, or in

¹ One of the bosses in the nave roof of the church of St. Mary Overie, Southwark, bore a cross between four roses.

² “As from the sharp thorns springs
the gentle rose,
Stingless, and hides its mother with
its bloom;
So Blessed Mary, come of Eve’s
stem,

A new maid, purged that elder
maiden’s sin.

Thorns bear the rose, Judea Mary
bore.”

Dr. Littledale trans. Song of Songs,
p. 65.

³ English Translation of Sarum Missal,
p. 426, Ch. Press Co.

certain circumstances the garland was to be placed on the figure of St. Mary.

A large number of legends have clustered round St. Mary in connection with roses. The best known of these is one which states that on her grave being opened, it was found empty, save for a lining of roses. Many pictures of the early masters represent this legend. Raphael illustrates it in a work now in the Vatican, and Annibal Carracci in a picture, about 1600 in date, shows the apostles round the sepulchre, one of whom in astonishment lifts a handful of roses therefrom. Rubens, picturing this scene, shows a woman with her apron filled with the same flowers.¹

Besides the Blessed Virgin other saints are connected with the rose. St. Anne, like her daughter, is compared to one in the Sarum Missal, being thus addressed in the sequence for her feast :—

“O rose right fair of beauteous air!
With whom the lilies blend.”²

Passing onwards to the lesser saints we find St. Angelus represented with roses falling from his mouth, SS. Ascyclus and Victoria carrying wreaths, and St. Casilda crowned with white roses. St. Dorothea is either wreathed with this flower or carries three roses and three apples in a basket. St. Elizabeth of Hungary holds roses in her arms or apron. A figure of St. Elizabeth of Portugal in Westminster Abbey bears a basket of roses, and the flower is naturally the emblem of St. Rose of Lima, and St. Rose of Viterbo. The legend of St. Cecilia and her rose garland forms the subject of one of the best of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The latest legend with which I am acquainted concerning the rose, dates no further back than 1881, and is connected with an incident said to have occurred at St. Wilfrid's Church at Hayward's Heath.

The Assyrian priests were occasionally crowned with roses, as were also those of mediæval Christendom. Such garlands are mentioned in the parish accounts of St. Mary-

¹ The rose plays a conspicuous part in the legend of Our Lady of Guadalupe, whose picture is largely venerated

in Mexico: it is prominent also in the story of Our Lady and St. Rosalia.

² English Translation, p. 406.

at-Hill, and St. Martin Outwich, London, in the early part of the sixteenth century, whilst a seventeenth century print represents the corporation of the Goldsmiths of Paris carrying their *chasse* with the relics of their patroness St. Genevieve, each member of that illustrious body being portrayed as crowned with a rose garland.¹ Roses in some orders also crown the nun about to make her profession.

It is hardly necessary to allude to the prominent part which roses took in mediæval decorative art. Perhaps one of the most remarkable examples of its employment in this manner is furnished by the tower of The Rose at Windsor Castle, which we know from documents preserved in the Record Office, was painted externally with roses during the reign of Edward III. A painter named William Burdon was employed more than 120 days on this work, being assisted by several inferior hands working under his supervision.

The emblem of the rose was common on ecclesiastical furniture and vestments, thus at Abinger, Surrey, the return made in the reign of Edward VI. mentions "a wodden cros platted with silver gilted, with roses and braunches poiz by estymacion xvi oz.," and at Bermondsey at the same period there was "an olde cope of red sylke with roses of silver and gilte."² The brass of John Mapilton, 1432, at Broadwater, Sussex, shows the orphrey embroidered with roses. Spenser in his *Shepherd's Complaint* alludes to the decking of the pillars of churches with roses.

In Heraldry the rose is conspicuous and Gwillim writes thus concerning the meaning of its use: "The portraiture or resemblance of a rose," he says "may signify unto us some kind of good environed or to be set on all sides with evils, as that is with prickels which may give us notice how our pleasures and delights are beset with bitterness and sharpnesse," and he follows this remark with many more in the same strain.³ The figure of this flower is an early charge, the cinquefoil and sexfoil seem to have been originally used

¹ Engraved in *Laeroix Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. 162.

² *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iv. pp. 13, 99.

³ *Display of Heraldrie*, p. 147.

to express it. In heraldry the red rose is said to be the emblem of beauty and grace, the white, of love and purity. The rose forms a prominent feature in some hundreds of coats of arms, as in those of the families of Beverley, Billinger, Boscawen, Higginbottom, etc., where it is the sole charge. Where the arms consist of a cross and roses, as in those of Manning and Barnsley, there can be little doubt that these charges are borne in remembrance of our Lord and St. Mary; also, when roses and fleurs-de-lis, or lilies, are the bearings, as in the arms of Couppe, the reference to the Blessed Virgin is very evident.¹

The use of the rose as a royal device or badge, appears to have been first introduced by Eleanor of Provence, the Queen of Henry III., and each sovereign from Edward IV., down to, and including Queen Anne, used a variation of the rose. Henry VIII. assumed the combined red and white roses, with the motto *Rosa sine spina*, one which occurs on the farthings of Henry IV., and on coins of Henry VI. The use of this motto by Henry VIII. can scarcely be said to have been an appropriate one in his case, but his rose badge appears to have been a great favourite with his subjects and in the Tournament Roll of this period it is said:—

“Oure ryall rose now reignyng rede and white,
Sure grafted is on ground of noblynes,
In Henry the VIII. our joye and our delyte.”

A ballad composed in 1513, when the king invaded France, implores the Saviour, St. Mary, and St. George, to make the red rose bloom and flourish over all the coasts of that country. One verse given by M. du Boys runs as follows:—

“The rose will into Fraunce spring,
Almighty God hym thyther bring;
And save this flower which is our King,
This rose, this rose, thys Royal Rosse.”

To the edition of *Fabyan's Chronicles* published in 1516, was a kind of title-page on which appeared the Royal Arms, having over them a rose supported by angels, one of whom bears a scroll with *Hec rosa Virtutis de Celo missa*

¹ The family of Quennell or Quynell; of Compton, Surrey, have for arms, *or, and as many fleurs-de-lis in base Azure, a cross between two roses in chief argent.*

sereno, and the other one inscribed *Eternum florens regia sceptru feret*. A book of *Cicero's Orations* dated 1509, belonging to Henry VIII., and bound by Julian Notary bears a similar device. The "Rose, Angel, and Crown," is still an inn sign at Tunbridge, Kent, and the numerous signs of the "Rose and Crown," show the great popularity of the Tudor emblem.

Yeomen of the Crown, or Crown-keepers wore a rose and crown on the left shoulder, one or two examples are met with on brasses; the crown is combined with the rose in an unusual manner on the memorial of Thomas Noke, 1567, at Shottesbrooke, Berks, the rose being placed inside. The same badge was worn by the Yeomen of the Guard, a good example of which is seen on the brass of William Payn, 1568, at East Wickham, Kent.

Elizabeth with the badge of the rose retained the motto *Rosa sine spina*, which was also used by Charles I. on one of his coins—the half groat. She also used another motto of her father's, *Rutilans rosa sine spina*. The late Llewellynn Jewitt, in an excellent paper in the *Reliquary* of 1884, says that "on some of the Irish coins of James I. is the motto, *Henricus rosas, regna Jacobus*, or Henry united the roses, James, the kingdoms." The "Rose and Thistle," the badge of James, I. occurs as an inn sign at Camberwell, Farnham, and Frimley, all in Surrey.

The white rose, originally the Yorkist badge, became that of the Jacobite party, and even after the final collapse of the efforts to restore the Stuarts it continued to be used. In 1754, Mr. Freeman tells us that at Exeter, Jacobitism showed itself more openly than it had done when swords were drawn in the land, for "on the 7th of June, the Pretender's birthday, white roses were openly worn, and the sign of an inn was adorned with them."¹

Garlands of roses form an heraldic charge. Bossewell, writing in the time of Elizabeth, says that as the rose is the chief flower, so the head of man being his chief part, is often crowned with roses.

The collar of the Order of the Garter is now of gold, composed of twenty-six pieces encircled with the motto of the order, in the centre of each is a rose, enamelled

¹ *Freeman's Exeter*, p. 222.

red, seeded gold, and leaved green. Twenty six knots of gold fasten the circles together. A good example of this collar is seen on the brass of Sir Thomas Bullen, 1538, at Hever, Kent, but the motto of the order occurs in this instance only on the badge and the garter itself.¹



COLLAR OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER FROM THE BRASS TO SIR
THOMAS BULLEN, 1538.

About one-third Linear.

The Golden Rose is, I believe, at the present day only sent to members of royal houses but was not entirely confined to royalty in former times; there is an account extant of the flower having been conferred on Sir Reginald de Mohun, a valiant Englishman, in the thirteenth century.² When Cæsar Borgia entered Rome in 1500, Alexander VI. presented the Golden Rose to him as a reward for his achievements, whilst in 1557 the presentation was made to the duchess of the sanguinary Duke of Alva.

The use of roses at Greek and Roman banquets is well known, and in England this flower appears to have been employed on similar occasions to loop up the tablecloth, as was shown in a painting of the Last Supper, formerly on the west wall of Horsham church, Sussex. The custom of looping the folds of the tablecloth with flowers is still practised in Germany, at christenings, marriages, and other family festivities.

In the East the use of rose-water is supposed to exercise a purifying influence. Roger of Wendover mentions

¹ My thanks are due to Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., for the rubbing of the

collar of the Order of the Garter from the brass to Sir Thomas Bullen.

² See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii. p. 67.

that when Saladin took Jerusalem in 1186, he caused the temple to be "sprinkled within and without with rose-water."¹ In the seventeenth century amongst the Armenians it was customary at the end of the marriage ceremonies to cast rose-water upon the newly married couple, and on those present in the church. A silver basin to hold rose-water at dinner, formerly belonging to Archbishop Warham, was exhibited at a meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1860.

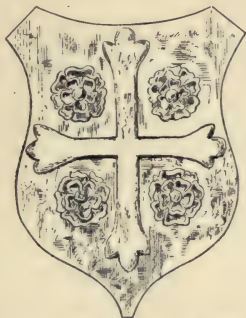
Preparations of the rose entered largely into mediæval medical practice; the plan of the monastery of St. Gall, executed, it is supposed, in the ninth century, shows a physic garden with sixteen beds, one of which is entirely devoted to rose bushes.² The prominence of this flower in medicine, is shown by the fact of the thirteenth century writer John of Gaddesden entitling his book on this subject *The Medical Rose*. The accounts for curatives supplied to Edward I. in 1306, show that "rose-water of Damascus" cost the King in that year £4. Sugar of roses was an item furnished to John, King of France, during his captivity in England, and John Russel's *Boke of Nurture*, says that a great lord should be sprinkled with rose water after a medicinal bath, a proceeding which may have been derived from the ancient Greek custom, mentioned by Homer, of anointing the body after bathing with oil mixed with roses. John Swan in his *Speculum Mundi*, published in 1643, describes a conserve of roses which he says is good "not onely to cool but also to comfort the principal parts of the bodie," and he gives full directions for its concoction, concluding with the statement that it will keep good "for a yeare or two but then it decayeth."³ Chambers in 1751, mentions Acetum Rosatum, or vinegar of roses, which he says is chiefly used by way of embrocation on the head and temples in the "head-ache." He also speaks of a "syrup of pale roses." Among the numerous shrubs, flowers, and roots employed in French medicine during the last century, the rose was conspicuous. In the *Dictionnaire Portatif de Santé*, published at Paris in 1783, we meet with red roses boiled either in

¹ *Flowers of History*, vol. ii. p. 62,
ed. Bohn, 1849.

² See plan in *Archæological Journal*,
vol. v. p. 110.

³ (p. xviii), p. 268.

water or vinegar, pounded red roses, conserve, oil, honey and ointment of these flowers, also syrups both of pale and dry roses. The Persians still use the leaves of the rose as a cure for melancholy.



ARMS OF MANNING, FROM A SLAB AT COATES, SUSSEX, 1700.

One-quarter Linear.

NOTES ON EGYPTIAN COLOURS.

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

The notes which follow are a combination of several papers contributed to the Institute during the last few years. They are mainly the consequence of opportunities offered by Professor Flinders Petrie's kindness in permitting an examination of specimens found by him; but many other collections have also been studied.

Mr. Petrie's specimens have the special value of being correctly dated.

The chief of the notes are devoted to three periods in the older Egyptian history—the fourth, the twelfth, and the eighteenth dynasties. Though this involves some repetition the examination of each series separately helps to mark chronological changes.

COLOURS FROM MEDUM. III. AND IV. DYNASTY.

The examination of a group of tombs at Medum is of especial interest as to them belong the earliest dated painting known, that of Senefru, the first king of the fourth dynasty; they therefore represent the third dynasty also.

To the northward and eastward of the step pyramid is a collection of mastaba tombs whose upper chambers have furnished the colours under consideration, the chief of these are Rahotep's and Nefermat's.

The surface of the stone on which the decoration was placed was worked smooth by means both of copper chisels and flint flakes. The colours were laid on the stone by brushes giving results both fine and regular. Some of the red and yellow were rubbed on by the aid of a cloth until they adhered, as is seen by the smudge spread irregularly outside the margin of the figure delineated. The process was similar to the present use of black lead and blacking for boots. In some cases the colours are non-adherent the medium having decayed, in

others it is fixed and still offers some resistance to its removal by water.

Some of the paintings were on a specially prepared ground. The brick was covered with a layer of mud and cut straw about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, on this was a coat of lime and gypsum, burnt together and mixed with fine *tibn* from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch thick, a thin coat of white plaster $\frac{1}{20}$ inch thick finished the surface. The better paintings are very fine and lowest in position, higher up they are larger in size and not so well finished. The whole height of the frescoed wall was more than 23 feet. The outlines were first traced with a faint red.¹

The medium employed in the paintings is difficult to determine so thin is the layer of colour. All is removable by water but not with equal ease. Notwithstanding the smallness of the amount available for examination, the result showed that the same materials were used as those described later in the twelfth dynasty section.

The north and south chambers of Nefermat's tomb, however, show the most peculiar mode of colouring the numerous figures and hieroglyphs. The outlines and spaces within them have been chiselled out of the stone, by metal chisels, commonly to the depth of one centimetre, and into these cavities has been inserted a paste which was then finished off flush with the general surface and carefully smoothed. The colours were first described by Mariette as giving "un éclat extraordinaire" to the general appearance of the tomb. Nefermat's figure has immediately in front of its face an inscription evidently referring to this unusual decoration that "he made this to his gods in unspoilable writing." However, it turned out to be very spoilable, and Mariette described it:

"Ces pâtes ne sont pas partout également conservées. Le rouge puis le noir ont presque toujours disparu, et ce qui en reste s'effritte facilement sous la main; mais le blanc, le jaune, le vert et surtout le bleu, sont encore très résistants." Besides the inability of the paste to hold itself together which has caused this destruction, its non-

¹ In Nefermat's tomb a length of painted mud facing had in course of time slipped bodily off the wall and

fallen, a specimen was however secured and the surface transferred to slate, such a piece is in the S. K. Museum.

adherence to the stone gave much trouble even at the outset of the operation. An endeavour to overcome this was made by dividing the larger excavated areas into a number of deeper cells separated by cross ridges of stone. Holes were drilled diagonally beneath these ridges so as to meet and form tunnels for complete loops of the paste to hold by.¹

The outer edges of the figures were undercut and thus the paste was keyed in. The irregularities in the general surface of the stone were levelled up with plaster which was excavated for figures as if it were stone. Where the details of the figures required it the pastes themselves were excavated to varying depths and suitably coloured pastes inserted in them. No painting is found over the pastes however fine the lines, except that over a white surface a proposed line was marked out in red, and sometimes when very narrow left unexcavated by accident.

Many of the levels of excavation are different without apparent cause; and very narrow lines are deep, variously U or V shaped, and not undercut.

Many of the pastes have now no cohesion at all, yet they must once have had some material to keep them together, for when examined they are no better than coloured sand. The primary idea seems to have been stucco coloured with added material as most of the examples show. In a specimen of pulverulent red, the commonest kind, about half consisted of stucco the other half sandy red and yellow ochre. Even if the plaster was well made so large a diluent of sand would prevent its setting. Therefore the workmen were put to a difficulty in finding a binding material. Interspersed through most specimens are very small globules and ovoid masses of a resin which are, however, absolutely and completely separable from the mass and which in no way help to bind it together; but where white colour which is mostly stucco is used no globules are found. The little globules of resin are heavy and insoluble in water. Originally the resin was finely powdered and mixed with

¹ Something like this was employed at Mugeyer, Chaldea, where plates of marble alabaster and agate were bored sideways at the back until a loop was

formed, so as to enable the cement in which they were set to hold them to the walls. J. E. Taylor, *Journal R. Asiatic Soc.*, xv. 411.

the paste, but being found insoluble the mass was subjected to heat as high as boiling water perhaps in order to dissolve it, but no more could be accomplished than to bring the resin to a globular form when it was sufficiently softened to permit this. The globular arrangement shows that the resin was insoluble in water therefore it could not have been gum arabic. Neither was it partially soluble, so that it could not have been myrrh, or any of the bdelliums, ammoniac, olibanum, etc., but must have been a true resin such as water cannot dissolve at all. It could not have been a resin which did not soften at the heat of boiling water because the little spheres were perfectly smooth; this cannot occur unless the solid materials are held in suspension leaving perfect freedom of motion among their particles sufficient for this but not to separate from the paste altogether. The granules are globular, they have a little pit or depression at one point. The little pit was caused by the contraction of the interior. The outer shell which had lost its volatile portion and become rigid instead of flattening sunk in at one little round spot. The globules are of a dark brown colour without, and a bright yellow within. Neither the outer nor the inner part is transparent and clear. It will not soften in boiling water, indeed its melting point is so high that it does not liquefy until it begins to char. This resin has therefore changed its qualities since the day it was used when it must have resembled so far as softness goes new mastic.

I have made experiments with pastes similarly constituted to the ancient ones combining with them finely powdered gums, gum resins, and true resins. With the latter I got similar forms, with mastic sandarach and well dried coniferous resins, pits and all—but of course they were transparent and easily soluble. But with myrrh, olibanum, ammoniac, and the bdelliums with others which emulsify in water, pitted globules could not be obtained.

In making these experiments I have to acknowledge, with many thanks for their constant kindness, the assistance of Mr. E. M. Holmes and Mr. J. R. Jackson of Kew, in providing me with specimens of various gum resins etc. for trial.

Perhaps mastic comes nearest to the old example.

Mastic also it will be remarked becomes very dark by age and much more difficult to melt. Experiments have been made with a specimen over 200 years old, but between that and 6000, leaves room for changes of which we know nothing. There may also have been other resins soft when used in old Egypt, now known only as hard ones. There may also have been a further experiment tried by the ancients, and the powdered product of a mixture of resins fused together, thrown into the pot. As all this experimenting must have had a cause it may be suggested that the idea came from mixing the pastes with gum arabic or myrrh or other emulsifying gum, but that through ignorance or carelessness, other resins got mingled with or substituted for them which were intractable and valueless. Anyhow some remedy was necessary and was applied. For there are some specimens of red paste which are very hard, their hardness is greater at the surface and penetrates to various depths, sometimes quite through the mass to the stone. After extraction by boiling water this material is found to be a colloid and answers to tests for altered gelatine. It is sticky, though not capable of making jelly and is in every respect the same as an extract made by boiling some bones of the same age (IV. Dynasty) and from the same place. It appears then that the gelatine kept until liquid was applied to the dry surface and allowed to soak in, thus overcoming the difficulty in part.

The examination of the colours themselves shows that some of the red was ground hæmatite, but yellow ochre and yellow marl burnt were also used. The yellow colours are wholly ochre but in the forms mostly of clay or marl in the pastes. In the paintings the ochre was probably prepared from the marl which underlies the desert sand around Medum, it is a fine colour and exactly that found on the walls. If purer pockets of it were not naturally found, it could, when steeped in vinegar or sour wine or beer and so removing the calcium carbonate, be made to yield about one-fifth of its weight of a fine colour. Probably it was so prepared as no natural colour has been found of so fine a texture as it becomes by this means, and which is like that in use.

The white is gypsum raw and burnt, black is lamp

black or the soot from resinous wood, a circular cake of this was found in Rahotep's well $\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter.

Green is pure malachite; as however, this was scarce, the bottoms of the deep excavations were filled with the yellow marl, and the green placed on that. A lighter tint was made by mixing gypsum with it. Even the red paste was sometimes underlaid by some plain plaster for the like economical purpose.

It is to be regretted that there was no opportunity for examining the blue tints which are, however, in some cases bright, but in most cases are hardly blue but grey or slate coloured. A shell used as a palette was found in an undisturbed well of a mastaba between Ranefer and Rahotep which has the remains of a beautiful blue smeared over its interior. This was pure chessylite, and on Ranefer mummy, now in the Royal College of Surgeons Museum, the mouth and eyebrows are painted on the fine cloth which covers the face in pure chessylite. It looks green from age and staining which is an accident.

Though chessylite was used at this time yet frit was manufactured and employed, and there are several examples known. One, however, of the IV. Dynasty recently acquired by Mr. Petrie, of which he permitted some to be detached, gave unmistakable signs that it was a copper frit of medium depth of tint of great purity.

COLOURS FROM KAHUN, XII. DYNASTY.

Some fragments from the wall decorations of Usertsen's Temple at Kahun show the colours well preserved; they are brilliant and clear and are laid on hieroglyphs and figures. The red is ground hæmatite (rarely) and burnt yellow ochre. The numerous pieces of granular hæmalite found, showed by their shape that they had been ground in water, this being the only way of reducing it to a sufficiently fine powder. Many of their faces are flat and many curved, the latter being caused by the stone having become hollow on which the rubbing had been long conducted, not from the intentional use of a concave surface. The yellow is ochre very finely levigated. The greens are copper silicates (chrysocolla) or malachite, the

latter predominating and the hue alike in all. Blue is invariably copper frit to which full consideration is given later on.

The quality of the blue frit is very unequal, some is dull and transparent, that is murky and non-reflective of light, while some is all that could be wished; but neither the very pale colour nor the violet blue employed in later work is met with. Two specimens of this colour prepared for use and still in the pots were found in town, but they were careless mixtures of good blue and greenish frit. All the blues are very coarse powders the separate grains of sand employed still remaining unground.

The colours are spread over very carefully sculptured and prepared stone, the surface in some instances having been covered with a wash of transparent medium which is still perceptible. There is great refinement in the work and marvellous care in the execution. The lines were usually regulated by the sculptor and did not require sketching by the colourists. The reds and yellows were often laid by brushes in thicknesses which permits some reflection from the stone beneath thus increasing its brilliancy. Greens were laid on very thickly with a coarse brush so that they mostly have a bad edge unless subsequently trimmed. The surfaces on which the blue was laid were first covered with green where finish was required. The green before drying was pressed down by a bone or metal instrument so that a smooth and polished surface was given to it, the irregular edges clearly evince this pressure. Blue was painted in thick layers in consequence of the size of the grains, or even placed on the stone with a spatula, but in the finer work it is painted over the green not so much to economise the blue as to form a cushion for the coarser grains to bed into, so that the smoothing or burnishing process might give a fine surface. The pressed-out edges of the blue were trimmed off and a very fine red line painted at the junction of two colours. Finally a very fine red line truly microscopic in width and scarcely perceptible to the observer was carried round all margins and parting lines. In the routine of work the red and yellow surfaces were first laid on by friction then the green and blue. White, red, and black touches were painted over the green but as that colour

was absorbent the lines are often faint. Some fine lines of blue marking the divisions of the palm branch hieroglyph are but one hundredth of an inch wide and regularly curved, a marvel of execution where the blue was of a coarse grain necessarily, for if ground too fine it became too pale. Black is lamp black, but among some colours of the same date sent from Beni Hassan by Mr Percy Newberry the black was found to be Pyrolusite [Wad] the remainder were similar to the Kahun examples.

In the case of the better preserved pieces of stone which are uninjured by efflorescing salts the colours adhere firmly and there is clear evidence that the medium still remains. They are unaffected by plain water cold or hot, even soap does not remove them as would have been the case if held by mere pressure. But from the small quantity on which experiment can be made testing is difficult. After numerous tests had been applied, all pointing to one result, a piece of stone was found on which the red colour had been smudged over the wished for outline, and over the smudge a thick daub of the medium mixed with a little white had been laid to hide it.

This spread had become of a light brown hue and consisted of powdered limestone held by a horny semi-transparent substance which could be flaked off in minute pieces. These were insoluble in water hot or cold, but charred with heat and burnt white on continued calcination; heated in a closed tube an alkaline vapour was given off restoring the blue colour to red litmus paper: weak muriatic acid dissolved out the stone and left the medium which was dissolved by strong muriatic acid; this also liberates the particles of frit in other cases. There can be little doubt that it is albumen. It cannot be gelatine or any resinous gum as it is insoluble in all the usual solvents for such except in a very minute degree. A peculiar condition, somewhat glossy, of the surface of the stone around other paintings was found to be caused by a dressing of this albumen over surfaces now wholly devoid of colour. This suggests the probability that some organic colour now completely faded once tinted the surface. Nor is this unlikely, for frequently grey, dark and light, and pale washes of greeny blue body colour are met with as backgrounds for throwing up the hieroglyphs,

etc., or it may have been a dressing to fill up the pores of the stone and thus procure adhesion of the colour. The great age of these remains may account for much of the obstinacy which the albumen exhibits. The long exposure to the sun and weather on the building or after lying on the sand was quite sufficient for its coagulation and consequent insolubility as has been found by experiment. It has also been found that if eggs—duck or goose or other, be whipped and allowed to stand, either with or without the yolk they become manageable as a medium in one or two days, they form a thick compound with similar colours which behaves just like the Egyptian ones. If exposed to a high temperature either in the sun or before the fire which, however, need not be greater than the hand can bear, for a few hours or longer, the egg becomes insoluble in water and the colour cannot be washed off. It is not necessary that the yolk should be excluded, rather it gives the advantage of a slight varnish when the oil is oxidised. This hardening takes some time during which dust may adhere to the oily surface; thus may be explained why on many paintings in Egypt of all dates a minute layer of impalpable dust coats the colours making them more or less dull, sometimes completely cloaking them and difficult of removal—which especially affects the blues. The yolk of an egg may be green when mixed with blue frit and first laid on, but a short exposure to light and heat bleaches it completely and leaves a pure blue. There appears to be no doubt left that all the colours which I have examined having the above characters had egg albumen for a medium, and this extends from Senefru's time to that of the Romans, although of course gum arabic was largely used and other easily soluble media of the nature of gelatine.

COLOURS FROM TELL EL AMARNA, XVIII. DYNASTY.

These are from the actual factory and paint shops. With them are included specimens very similar from Gurob of the like date.¹

The ochres form a large and varied selection. Their

¹ For description of site, see *Petrie*. Tell el Amarna. 1894.

constitution shows that some have come from localities not in the immediate neighbourhood of one another, while others differ sufficiently to show at once that they come from a wholly different and presumably distant locality. It is quite clear that a diligent search was regularly kept up for the supply of these ochres. It is not known where they were got in any quantity. A yellow marl is not unfrequently found not far below the surface which by decalcification may be made into a fine colour. Many of the yellows are mere clays often containing various sands, mica, etc., by the study of which a clue has been found for identifying which of the natural materials were burnt into reds. For an extensive variety of reds are the result of calcining or burning the yellows. The crude ochres were burnt in mass, being kept at a red heat for some time and afterwards ground in water. The inside of only a few lumps show any change on heating. The number of specimens of red whether natural or baked amounted to several dozen, all were burnt with two exceptions, granular hæmatite and a red clay. The burnt and raw yellows were often ground together and produced fine tints. With the aid of gypsum varying shades of pink were obtained of a softness resembling closely the madder pinks of later date and which require to be tested to determine that they are not vegetable colours. Some of the colours on the walls could be distinctly identified with those found in the shops. One of the natural reds consisted of masses of a fine sandy material from the surface washed by rain into a crack or fissure. It consists of fine layers of red and yellow, and has a bright pink appearance. This specimen is interesting as it was the same material as was employed for the red pastes in Senefru's time.

Ochre yellow fine as it was, was exceeded by orpiment. In the Amarna paintings there is one of King Akhenaten, his queen, and two little princesses with attendants. The flesh is illuminated with a minute portion of orpiment, especially on the high lights where it certainly appears more clearly than on the shaded parts which were treated by a wash of dull red. This perhaps is the earliest examples of shading known. A superficial smear of imperfectly powdered orpiment was placed over the

earrings as an afterthought apparently to brighten them up. The orpiment in this case was imperfectly powdered and somewhat sparkling and it was only applied to royalty and not to the attendants. Orpiment was a rare colour, and was ground for use at this period as wanted, and not in large quantities. Some was ground very fine, crude and ground being found at Kahun as well as Gurob. Realgar which is commonly found with it was sparingly used being ground together with it. But realgar alone has not been found on any painting. Orpiment was applied to stone and pottery, sometimes covering a comparatively large surface.

White colour consisted of gypsum in ground crystals and efflorescent powder. Black was lamp black in every case.

Both the red and yellow prepared pigments were made by grinding on a hard stone. Some of the pieces are ground perfectly flat but others have convex surfaces. This was the result of wear from using the same stone for a long while and was not intentional nor advantageous. It has been suggested that the colours were ground on the interior surface of a large earthenware pot. As, however, a large quantity is found to be ground off the pot by this means leaving evidence of the result in the finished product, it could not have been the method employed, for in no case was earthenware powder found in the colours red, yellow or blue, in which latter case it would have been highly detrimental. In grinding the best effect is obtained by using a large vessel full of water with a flat stone in it whose surface is just lapped by the water. After rubbing, the water was poured off to settle and the refuse pieces thrown aside, though sometimes the whole was allowed to settle until the water was clear; examples of both kinds have been found.

The specimens of blue from Amarna and from Gurob range from a very pale sky colour to a deep bluish violet; in the case of frits a pale lilac was found at Amarna. In the remains from Amarna and Gurob many small specimens of natural blues and greens were found which had been collected for trial but none show signs of use. They were blue and green carbonates of copper, also in the form of a kind of sandstone. Amazon stone, chryso-

colla, one particular kind having masses of a bright blue amongst it, various schistose and slaty rocks, some of which are stained by infiltration of copper ore, but they were not abundant.

The pieces of frit were numerous and comprised all grades of success and failure in the manufacture. They with the other colours were found at Amarna in the workshops where they were made, furnaces, grinding and mixing being carried on at the spot. Frit consists of a mixture of silica, alkali, and copper ore. That it might be employed as a colour these were mixed in such proportions as to stand the heat necessary to accomplish the chemical change without fusing or becoming a glass, which when it happened was always ill-coloured and useless. Although the furnace refuse of frit-making had not been found in sufficient quantity to determine all the details of procedure, the furnace floors were found which had been employed in glazing pottery, and in making enamel and glass as well as frit, for pieces of it were found in the remains. The white quartz pebbles of the floor were stained with the copper silicate.

It is evident that the materials after admixture were heated in deep pans. Mr. Petrie found pots with flat bottoms and upright sides, five inches high and seven across, sometimes larger. These were arranged on the furnace floor in rows somewhat apart, bottom upwards; the bowls of frit sometimes flat bottomed, sometimes rounded, rested between their edges so that the furnace could be raked under them. Large quantities of the mixture were prepared at once and the large capacity was necessary to hold the swelled up material, for there was a considerable disengagement of gas when the copper ore had not previously been roasted as was sometimes done. They were of rough spongy pot and the alkali uniting with it caused a great waste at the edges so that often but a small mass in the centre actually remained for use, and the pots could never be used again.

The depth of the pans was also arranged to prevent the access of unburnt gases and vapours to the mass which might reduce the copper salt irregularly, and spoil the product, which frequently happened, not so frequently perhaps in the lighter colours as in the darker and more

brilliant ones. It is unlikely that a batch of deep blue throughout was ever accomplished at the first trial in early days.

When the mass was finally broken up it was commonly found that part was green and part blue, mottled and shaded in a beautiful manner. Then the best parts were selected, ground, and re-heated in shallow pans which hardened and slightly intensified the frit, making it uniform. It formed cakes round in form, six or eight inches in diameter, and in thickness from one quarter to one inch thick. Cakes were found which had been formed in shallow hemispherical pans with another similar pan placed over the lower to press the cake out; the colour of the latter was lilac.

Green frit was sometimes a step in the process of making the blue which could then be arrested and the result employed. But green could also be made by employing sand highly stained with iron; the careless use of which ruined many a batch intended for blue. The greens were rarely used, being inferior to malachite.

The statement of Lepsius that the colour was cast into bricks is altogether wrong.

The silica was always quartz never flint dust. It was usually fine sand which, however, was difficult to procure free from iron. The quartz pebbles which were laid at the bottom of the furnace could be used as silica, for after being heated and thrown into water they became friable and could be pounded up. Their colour was a very pure white, specimens of frit made with this quartz were found. The alkali was soda, native potash from burnt reeds, etc., and limestone. The copper ore was always malachite, crude and roasted. The frit when finished ought to be finely granular, capable of breaking up into powder. It was ground under water on a flat stone hard enough to break up the silicate without perceptibly adding anything to the result. The stone could not therefore have been red pottery, as no trace of such has been seen in the perfect colour. The rounded worn surface was caused by stone hollowed by use. As grinding made the colour paler, the dark frits were well washed and reheated afterwards.

From the great quantities of frit used its manufacture

must have been fairly well understood. There are difficulties, however, which made the success of the ancients really remarkable. With the pale frits the difficulties were least, a brisk red heat for a few hours was all that was needed and the colour did not readily spoil with continued heating. The pale and even the moderately dark colours could be made without lime and yet be a fine blue without any trace of the greenish tint so often associated with copper blues. But with the deep blue, purple, or violet a large proportion of lime is required and a great increase in the copper. The temperature must be sufficiently high for combination to proceed; but not too high or the whole becomes black or glassy; and this rather narrow range must be kept up continuously for many days, or if with intervals for a much longer period. The violet and lilac take an excess of lime. No cobalt has ever been found although that substance was used in blue glass making in the eighteenth dynasty and later.

The hues of the early frits that have come down to us are very similar, and from the fourth dynasty the object sought has been a brilliant blue of moderate depth. In later times numerous varieties were added, some by intention in manufacture, or some by admixture. After the nineteenth dynasty true blues were made but mostly a lower tone was affected, and strange combinations far removed from blue were in fashion, being sometimes little better than grey, or the powder of roofing slate. The fashion of the day compelled this equally with similar hues in glazes and glass.

Numerous examples of frit unground may be seen in the Egyptian departments of European museums of all dates, chiefly late, although no dates are affixed to them, so they are worthless for chronological purposes. There are cakes originally of large size in the British Museum, but a reference to the catalogue gives no particulars. A dozen balls found together are interesting however, they have the fine violet colouring of later periods and are probably Ptolemaic, but are interesting as showing the original of the forms of cakes introduced after into Italy. So little interest was taken in these that Belzoni did not recognise the material as mineral, but stated that some he came upon were an evidence that the old Egyptians

made up cakes of indigo with sand after the manner that such were made in Egypt in his time. As already shown the manufacture was largely carried out in Upper and Lower Egypt from early times until the mediæval period, and the famous Egyptian blue had been exported to Europe and Asia Minor. At Tiryns it was employed on walls and floors. Though there is no evidence it was made in Greece so early as the fifteenth century B.C., or for many hundred years after, there is a probability it was so. There is plenty of evidence of its use on Greek buildings of early or later date, and in Etruria.¹

Many Greek sculptures in the British museum still retain patches of the colours which have escaped the soft soap and hot water treatment they have suffered in order to rob them of the universal tints with which they were covered. It is needless to enumerate examples, for there is not anything there but what was once coloured, as is shown by the patterns still left on the marble by the protective action of the media which held the various paints.

Frit was early in use in Syria, but that it was first made in Syrian Phœnicia and thence sent to Europe and exported to Egypt as lately asserted² requires at least the proof that it was ever manufactured in Syria at all.

It was employed and apparently made in Mesopotamia. Some was found ground for use at Koyunjik which is now in the British Museum. It was early a subject of barter between Egypt and the East together with its superior lapis lazuli. Wherever Greek and Roman Colonies existed in the Mediterranean area it has been found extensively on building, sculpture, vases, ivory, etc. In England I have seen it at Silchester and in the Villa at Darenth lately opened up, all these, however, are of the pale cheap kind. It has been recorded as found in France.³

¹ See letter from Faraday in the *Royal Institute of British Architects* l. 1842. On colours from Athens: he describes blue frit and blue carbonate of copper both laid on with wax. See also Penrose, F. C., *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, p. 59. note 1888. Gardner, E. A., *Archæology in Greece*, 1888, vol. x. of *Journal of Hellenic Studies in Deltion*, December, 1888, are remarks

on the chemical constitution of Greek colours; Cros et Henry, and many more works.

² C. Diehl, *Excursions in Greece*. Art. Tiryns.

³ H. Fontenay, *Ann. de Chimie et de Phys.*, v series ii, 193, gives examples of Roman blue frit found at Bibracte with analysis.

The later manufacturers only succeeded in producing the pale colour and then the use of it died out. There is no trace of it in any mediæval paintings being superseded by smalts of cobalt and lapis lazuli.

Notices of this blue are abundant in Lepsius, *Metaux*, traduit par Berend, 1877, who quotes one inscription of Thohtmes III.

There are no accounts of it until Pliny's time, he [N.H. XXXIII. 57] mentions cœruleum which was mostly prepared in the wet way by means of cupreous salts, not always without the aid of plants also, but he says that cœruleum was used on a surface prepared with clay for it could not bear lime—clearly it was not a silicate. In contrast to this he mentions another cœruleum, the Vestorian which had lately been introduced, which would lie on lime; this was frit of course. Vitruvius mentions its manufacture, saying it was made at Pozzuoli lately introduced from Egypt by Vestorius. Vitruvius, VII. 91. Theophrastus [de Lapidibus XCVIII.], speaks of three places whence cyanus came, of which the Egyptian was the best, etc. Perhaps Isidore of Seville [Origines, XIX., 17] is the latest who mentions it, he calls it Venetum cœruleum and says that in Italy it was made of Flos nitris and powdered sand, but that if burnt copper is added it becomes like Vestorian blue.¹

Sir Humphry Davy in a paper in *Phil. Trans.* for 1815, "On Colours in Use by the Ancients," gives an account of the analysis of some blue frit from Rome and a receipt for imitating it. He was the first in recent times to imitate it. He describes it as cheap and easy to make, which was true, being a pale washed out colour as he performed the trial.

In Passalacqua's catalogue, p. 239, is an analysis of an Egyptian blue powder by Vauquelin who says that he

¹ St. Isidore of Spain wrote many books and he mentions this colour incidentally in an Etymological compilation. It is clear that the early Latin authors were his chief authorities, and that he knew nothing practically about it, even his etymology in this case it at fault, as he does not tell us the meaning of Venetum, except by contrasting it with blue frit. It, however, appears to

have been a grey or ill-defined colour, and by no means the brilliant colour of Vestorianus. Vegetius iv, 37, has *Colore Veneto qui marinis est fluctibus similis*. Theophilus says that Veneda is black mixed with lime or white, and that it was used as a foundation for lapis lazuli. Theophilus, chapter xv. Thus had the knowledge dropped out.

is unable to tell its mode of manufacture whether by a wet or dry process.

H. de Fontenay in the *Annales de Chimie*, Série v, ii, p. 193, gives an account of the making of this material forming it into balls, but it was the pale colour not the deep violet blue.

Darcet working in Peligot's laboratory made some, but left no account of his process from commercial reasons, which, however, failed then as at present to introduce it.

F. Fouqué, (*Bull. Soc. des Mines de France*, XII. 36,) gives an account of a crystalline substance that he made himself which he called Vestorian blue. He says that it is a silicate of calcium and copper, and that potash and soda are unnecessary in its manufacture. It is therefore clear it is not the Egyptian blue. Some of it was exhibited at the *Soirée* of the Royal Society in 1889 as being the blue glaze of Egyptian pottery, but crystalline and glassy forms are not frit; while the combination of ingredients, treatment in the furnace, and the final result is quite different, nor can the material be changed to what it is claimed to be by any process.

Dr. W. J. Russell, F.R.S., has examined the Amarna specimens and his conclusions are given in a paper printed in Mr. Petrie's volume on Medum. He has also imitated them very successfully. He says that the most common of the blue pigments contain from 3 to 10 per cent of copper and that lime and sand were used with 10 per cent of a mixture of potassium and sodium carbonates. When the amount of copper is increased to 20 or 30 per cent and about an equal amount of lime is present, then the purple frits can be formed. But in the latter case the range of temperature is much more restricted and a longer exposure is required. He has succeeded in making at once large cakes of fine colour. His results are perfect and splendid. I have also succeeded in imitating many of the most beautiful hues from Gurob and elsewhere.

At Amarna the colours were mixed with egg albumen as described under Kahun. Acacia gum was largely used, and decaying left the colour pulverulent and loose. Several pots of paint were found to have a thick layer of gum overlying the colour which had settled at the bottom, these

had not been exposed and the gum answered all the usual tests. Gum was employed for the painting of Akhenaten and the little princesses. It was also used on parts of the painted pavement. Mr. Petrie says that some of this pavement bore washing, albumen may have been used there, but there was evidence that it had been waxed also. Gelatine was used. Gelatine when first made is a jelly when cold, but on much boiling it loses the power of setting and becomes liquid. The same effect may be obtained by a lengthened exposure to the sun and air when it undergoes fermentation, becoming limpid; I have also found it employed with lime and gypsum to make gesso. At first gelatine was only employed thus, its use as glue was a later discovery. All very ancient woodwork was joined by pegs and in the drilling of holes and accurate fitting of parts the Egyptians were very clever. But as early as the XVIII. Dynasty skin was shredded and boiled until it became pulpy and thick in which state it was used to join woodwork together. Glue as we have it now, that is gelatine separated from insoluble and albuminous parts and then dried until needed, is a comparatively late invention.

Frit and powdered malachite were used, mixed with wax, for covering pottery and woodwork, but no elaborate decoration in this style has been found. Painted wood and pottery were frequently covered with a turpentine or liquid resin, as a varnish and then dried.

At Amarna, as well as in other places blue frit was used to decorate red coloured pottery, some of which was pale and some enhanced by the use of hæmatite. The effect of the bright blue patterns when well executed is very good. After painting the finished pot, the frit was set by gentle firing, then the colour did not come off nor did it shine like glaze.

PHILÆ: THE NUBIAN VALLEY AND THE MODIFIED NILE RESERVOIR.¹

By SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A.

Last year the battle of the Reservoirs was hotly waged and I had the honour of reading a paper on the subject before the Institute.

In common with many other societies we raised our voices and we may congratulate ourselves that our efforts have not been in vain.

It will not, I hope, be without interest to the members of the Institute if I now state the result of our enterprise, and this I am the better able to do as, at the request of the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works, I have, with others, paid a visit to the island of Philæ as a member of a commission to see the marks set upon the buildings showing how far under the modified conditions of the reservoir these will be submerged, and to advise upon the best way of fortifying the structures where necessary. I will begin by quoting from an official document which is of the greatest importance to us and was published in the *Times* of November 19th, 1894. It runs as follows :

“The Ministry, recognising the respect due to the reasons advanced has endeavoured to reconcile the material interests of the country with those of science by submitting a modified scheme which has received the approval of the Government. This modified scheme consists in the construction of a dam at Assouan having its crest at the reduced level of 106 metres, that is to say 8 metres or 26 feet lower than that at first proposed. This will retain water sufficient for Middle or Lower Egypt, but not for both. It entails the submersion of only a part of Philæ Island containing the smaller monuments which could be protected by special works, to be planned in accordance with the wishes of the learned societies and it leaves the other numerous Nubian monuments untouched. In order to minimize still further any possible loss to science from the construction of such a vast reservoir, topographical surveys will be made this winter in order to fix the true bearings of the Nubian monuments and preliminary plans will be executed of all sites.”

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 3rd, 1895.

Technical details are given with which I need not trouble you, but by this official announcement we learn that it is the very earnest wish of the Egyptian Government to respect its ancient monuments in all possible ways.

You will perhaps remember that by the scheme as at first proposed, a great wall was to be built across the Nile at a considerable distance below the island of Philæ (and being between Philæ and Assouan this dam is called the Assouan dam to distinguish it from other schemes for walls either touching the island of Philæ or south of it).

This great wall was to retain the water to so great a height that the whole of the island of Philæ with everything on it would have been completely submerged, only the upper parts of the pylons and of some of the highest buildings standing out above the surface. But not only would the island and buildings be submerged, but a stupendous reservoir more than 100 miles in length would have been formed, and this reservoir would have swamped the greater part of the cultivated ground, of the villages, and of the ancient monuments which lie along the side of the Nile from Philæ to Korosko.

By lowering the level of the reservoir 26 feet, the valley, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Philæ escapes the water, the villages and cultivated ground are left untouched. Many thousands of the people, who would have been dislodged are left to the enjoyment of their houses and the monuments are preserved from the destruction which must certainly have befallen most of them, as they stand, not upon rock, but in most cases upon soil which would have yielded to the action of the water.

The Ministry of Public Works having recommended the Egyptian Government to adopt the modified scheme levels were taken in the course of last winter showing very exactly how much of the island of Philæ and of the buildings upon it would be submerged and how much would stand free, and in February last in company with Mr. W. E. Garstin, C.M.G., the Under Secretary of State in the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works, we were invited to make our inspection and to state our views

with regard to the result upon the buildings and upon the best means of maintaining and protecting those which would still be submerged. It will be well to state, first, how much of the island will be submerged, second, what effect the submergence is likely to have, and third, what steps it is proposed to take to counteract their effect where ill results are to be feared.

The island, a mass of granite rocks and boulders, is considerably longer from north to south than it is wide from east to west. 420 yards by 150 according to Baedeker. It is stated to cover an area about equal that of St. James's Park; this may or may not be very accurate. On the highest parts of the centre stands the Temple of Isis, with its pylons towards the south, and in front of these, closed in on the south by larger pylons is a forecourt with buildings on the east and west. The building on the west is a very complete little temple in itself surrounded by a peristyle. It is the birth house or Meshen.

The buildings on the east side of the forecourt consist of a series of rooms fronted by a colonnade.

South of the large pylons extend two long colonnades which converge as they approach the southern extremity of the island, and, at this extremity, hanging right above the river, is the little Temple of Nectanebo II., the oldest structure so far as we yet know on the island.

On the eastern edge of the island stands the kiosque, or Pharaoh's Bed as it is often called. Other remains of no little interest are scattered about.

A quay wall many feet in height encloses nearly all the island and is generally in good preservation. The Temple of Isis, the most important feature of the group, retains its roof of huge stone slabs almost entire. The birth house to the west of the forecourt has also its roof quite perfect, whilst the chambers to the east are partly roofed.

Attention is called to the buildings that are roofed, as it is manifest that the water entering them must place them under no little danger, the sun not having access to dry out the damp from the walls.

By the modification now decided upon, the highest level to which the water in the reservoir can rise will

leave the floor of the Temple of Isis quite out of the water, but the floors of the forecourt and of the adjoining buildings will for a short time stand in water.

The ground towards the south sinks slightly, and the colonnades standing on it will consequently not altogether escape, whilst the little Temple of Nectanebo will be submerged to more than half way up the columns.

Behind, *i.e.*, north of the Temple of Isis stand the remains of a Coptic church built of stones taken from Egyptian temples. This church lies in a hole and will suffer probably more than any other stone built structure on the island. Beyond this and a little east standing on the edge of the island is a small arch considerably ruined. This too will have a good deal of water about it, but is fortunately of solid construction.

In addition to the stone buildings there are very many remains of crude brick structures.

The most important of these is the thick wall built in undulating courses, which enclosed the Temple of Isis and the forecourt. The lowest courses of this can be traced in many places, and in parts the wall is of considerable height and great solidity.

In addition to this there are remains of numerous brick built houses and other buildings. Some of these I feel no doubt formed part of the houses of the priests of the ancient worship; others are Coptic, for the island was a great Coptic stronghold, and others belong to later dates. The island was inhabited until recently and consequently houses have been built, altered, ruined and set up again for many hundreds of years. Beneath the accumulated rubbish of the more recent houses there is doubtless very much of early Coptic and even of Egyptian foundation.

To recapitulate. We have in the middle the Temple of Isis, which will now stand quite free from any inundation. We have the forecourt, which will have for a short time a little water in it. We have the colonnades; and most unfortunate of all because in the worst state of repair, the little structure of Nectanebo, which will be considerably immersed; we have the kiosk, the Coptic church and the little triumphal arch, each of which will for a time stand in water, and lastly, we have the brick

remains which will beyond doubt be resolved into the Nile earth of which they were originally made.

Having stated how much will be submerged the second point is, what effect the submergence is likely to have both on the stability of the structures and on the artistic charm of the island, the latter by no means a matter of small importance.

The temples, quay walls, etc., are all built of Nubian sandstone. The island itself is formed, as has been already said, of granite rocks and boulders. These form a solid and immovable foundation, and nearly, if not quite all of the buildings seem to be upon the solid.

We will first speak of the behaviour of the sandstone under the conditions of alternative submersion and emergence. We all know that at Karnak and Luxor the sandstone near the ground has suffered terribly. These buildings stand during parts of the year in water. The buildings of Philæ it may be said will suffer in the same way as they will also stand in water for part of the year. If so we shall find the quay walls surrounding the island to be very much decayed. But as a matter of fact the stones are in splendid condition. Their annual Nile bath does them no harm at all.

Then at Luxor we have a sort of jetty or pier running out into the river. This is for part of the year completely under water and comes out again without damage. The Nile water flowing round these buildings does them no harm. But when it gains access to the stone by infiltration, rising up from below and not merely flowing round, then the salts which it has taken up in passing through the earth eat into the stone and cause the damage.

This has been fully realised and already at Luxor a channel is made to let the rising Nile enter the temple area and another to let it pass away, so that infiltration is prevented as far as possible. At Karnak it is hoped to gain the same result by channels now in course of formation.

Having shown that the Nile water does not of itself carry pernicious ingredients with it, we have still to consider what effect a thorough soaking of the subsoil and an immersion of the foundations quite beyond anything they have before undergone may have upon Philæ.

If a building has been constructed on a wet soil, draining is almost certain to cause settlements and dislocations. If, on the other hand, it has been built on the dry, the admission of underground water also has a similar ill effect.

The heavy buildings at Philæ stand I believe in every part on rock, but behind the quay walls are great masses of filling in, partly with stone chips and partly with Nile earth.

With the admission of water there will be imminent danger of some movement in the filling in. The earth or brickwork will swell, and unless precautions are taken will possibly push forward some of the quay walls.

It is one of the peculiar features of Egyptian construction that solid and massive as the walls appear to be they are not well bonded together with long stones running through from face to face of the wall. The walls, two stones in thickness, are rather like a sandwich on edge, and one half can and often does fall away from the other. Walls so built have, in the conservative climate of Egypt stood for thousands of years, but shake them a little or alter their conditions and danger if not collapse will follow.

This brings us to the third consideration, viz.:

What steps it is proposed to take to counteract the possible danger?

We may dismiss from our minds the laughable idea of raising the island, or of dislodging the temples from their resting places and reconstructing them on the top of a rock somewhere near at hand.

The Egyptian Government has not been advised to launch upon any such silly and costly experiments.

Two courses are open, one is to keep out the water by enclosing the island with a surrounding water-tight wall; the other is to let the water flow in after the foundations and walls have been minutely examined and thoroughly fortified.

To speak of the first course proposed, namely, to enclose with a wall. At the best, the result would be very uncertain and the work exceedingly costly whilst the effect upon the landscape would be ruinous.

The uncertainty lies in the fact that the granite rock is

not without fissures, the boulders are, of course, separated one from the other by considerable fissures. Every one of these must be absolutely closed or the water would enter by infiltration from below and the last state of those temples would be worse than the first. Then, really to inclose the whole island with its quay walls, the great inclosure must be built in the bed of the Nile.

A sad and sorry object the island would appear, only the upper part visible above the top of the huge inclosing wall, and at what a cost must such a wall be maintained. The lover of beauty would justly curse the archaeologists who had proposed such an ugly thing; and the Government, which had saddled its successors with its maintenance, would not be held in blessed remembrance.

Of the second course proposed, unfortunate as it is that any such works have to be undertaken, we may at least say that there will be very little change in the appearance of the island from without and not so very much shall we see when we are on it: for we must accept the fact that, if the surface were not disturbed by reason of the reservoir it would shortly have undergone one of those very drastic "déblayments" to which so many of the venerable ruins of Egypt have been and are being subjected.

With great liberality and foresight the Egyptian Government has determined that all the substructures shall be carefully examined, and that by concrete, stonework or other means as the necessity may arise, every part of the substructures shall be fortified.

The quay walls are for the most part built as a facing to the granite boulders behind them, and it will not be a difficult matter to get between the two, filling in all the joints and crevices; a work which will make these walls more strong than they even were before, whilst from the outside no change would be seen. The Coptic church, which is very ill built, will probably present the greatest difficulties, and also the little building of Nectanebo.

Everything upon the island is to be carefully surveyed and noted, so that a record will be kept of all and everything, both that which remains and that which has to be removed.

In result, the island and its contents will have been thoroughly examined, surveyed and fortified even sup-

posing that the construction of the reservoir be indefinitely postponed.

I cannot affirm that the wall forming the dam will not be visible from the island of Philæ. I think it will not, under the modified scheme, be visible, except from the pylon tops.

The modification now decided upon by the Egyptian Government does not only respect Philæ to a considerable extent, but as has before been said it relieves the Valley of the Nile, south of the island, from the terrible devastation which it was to experience at the hands of the irrigation engineers.

As we now see it, the Valley of the Nile, south of the first cataract does not show an area of cultivation of any extent. A thin line of cultivated ground lies on either side of the river except where in some cases the rocky hills come up close to the water and in others the invading sand of the desert covers the alluvial soil which lies under it. The encroachment of the sand is chiefly on the western side of the river. On the western side, curiously enough, are nearly all the ancient remains of importance, and there is enough to show that not only temples but towns once lay on this side and that consequently at one time there was a considerable amount of cultivation. One reason for the impoverished condition in which we now see the country has been the brutality of its conquerors. Burkhardt, who travelled up the Nile Valley in 1813 just after the Mamelouks had retired up the valley before the Turkish troops of Mohammed Aly, gives a description of the devastation caused by the war. The miserable natives were pillaged equally by both parties. After the retreat of the Mamelouks, a terrible famine broke out in which one third of the population of Nubia perished through absolute want.¹ The remainder retired into Egypt where numbers were carried off by smallpox. Some of the remainder had begun to return just before his visit.

The absolutely deserted towns, the numbers of graves, are still a witness to the miseries of these times.

What has been cultivated can no doubt be cultivated

¹ *Travels in Nubia*, J. L. Burkhardt. London. John Murray. 1819, p. 11-12.

again, and we may be glad that the scheme which to favour Egypt would have devastated a considerable part of Nubia, has, by the foresight of the Government been so well modified.

To assist in designing the large reservoir the whole of the Nubian Valley up to Wady Halfa had been levelled and surveyed, although the latter had not been done with very great minuteness. It is understood that now the materials collected will all be available as a skeleton for a comprehensive and careful survey of the valley, indeed, I understand that preliminary work has already begun. It cannot be doubted that the result will be of immense scientific value more particularly should the investigation be confined not merely to archæology, but extended to other sciences which are in no way less interesting and valuable.

For my part I think we cannot well over-estimate the very liberal views taken by the Ministry of Public Works, and without going out of my province and offering any criticism on the value of the greater or the lesser reservoir, we can all acknowledge the value of the comprehensive survey to which the subject has given birth.

I may conclude with saying a few words about the effect of the water in depositing its sediment upon the island of Philæ.

In the middle of the summer at the time of high Nile the waters rise to within a few feet of the floor of the island. At this time they are very fully charged with deposit. It is at this time that they now enter the Temple of Luxor, and in one season a deposit of not less than 10 centimetres = 4 inches is laid down.

As the waters retire this shows as an ugly sea of mud which presently contracts as it dries seamed with gaping fissures. Nothing can be more unsightly. At this time the doors in the Assouan dam will all stand open and the Nile will flow on at its normal level. Not until the Nile flood begins to subside will the doors of the dam begin to be closed and when they are all closed and the reservoir is being filled, the deposit in the water is very much reduced in quantity, so much so that we may assume not more than a fourth part of the suspended

matter is left to be deposited. It is a miserable prospect to think of any deposit at all, but it is at least a satisfaction to know that the sea of mud we find at Luxor will not be visible at Philæ. So far as I have been able to observe I do not find that the deposit is laid by the retiring water except on the floors. I suppose that whatever sticks to the walls at Luxor quickly dries and either falls off or blows away, in any case the faces of the walls in that temple are not covered with mud or slime, but only the floors, and if there is not a deposit on the walls at Luxor still less will there be at Philæ.

At Luxor the waters fully charged, are more or less stagnant, the inlet and outlet being but small and yet the wall faces are free of deposit. At Philæ the mud does not stick to the quay walls, and we may therefore feel sure that the water less charged which touches the temple walls will not leave a deposit.

NOTES ON TWO CURIOUS PADLOCKS IN THE CARLISLE MUSEUM.¹

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

I have the honour to exhibit two padlocks with their keys, of a construction unusual in this country. They belong to the third or letter C class, into which General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A., divides locks, namely "locks and padlocks fastening with a spring catch," or catches.² These locks and padlocks consist of a box, square or cylindrical in shape, having a bar, *d*, on the top and parallel to it, attached to one end of the box by a curved portion. The bolt, *a*, is provided with a perpendicular bar, *b*, at the end of which is a ring, *c*, which slips on the parallel bar, *d*.³ At the end of the bolt are two or more spring catches, *e*, like the barbs of an arrow head. Inside the box is a plate, *h*, with openings for the springs to pass through. The springs being placed into the hole, *f*, at one end of the box, at the same time that the ring *c* is slipped along the bar, *d*, collapse, and spring open again after having passed the openings in the plate, *h*, in the box. A slit in the end or heel of the lock, *k*, admits a pin or key, *g*, with a return end, having slits made to fit the springs. On this key being passed up, the springs are compressed, and the bolt can be withdrawn.

These padlocks are therefore hand drawn and not key drawn locks, *i.e.*, the key does not withdraw the bolt, which has to be withdrawn by hand, after the key has compressed the spring catches.

Two kinds of padlocks of this class were amongst the Roman antiquities discovered by Lord Braybrooke at Great Chesterford in Essex in 1854, and are engraved in our *Journal*, vol. xiii., p. 7, Plate II., Figs. 21 to 27. In

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 3rd, 1895.

² *On the Development and Distribution of Primitive Locks and Keys*, by General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., p. 13.

³ There are sometimes two perpen-

dicular bars, each with a ring. General Sir H. Pitt-Rivers seems to consider this the earlier form. *Ibid.*, p. 16. Those exhibited to-day have only one bar and ring.

• PADLOCK •



• SECTION THROUGH BARREL SHOWING SPRING WHEN LOCKED •



• SECTION THROUGH BARREL AT A-B SHOWING CATCH FOR SPRING •

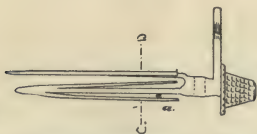


• GENERAL VIEW WHEN LOCKED •



• SKETCH OF HEEL OF BARREL SHOWING ACCESS FOR KEY •

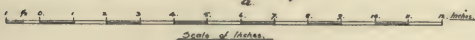
SECTION OF SPRING AT C-D



• SIDE VIEW OF SPRING WHEN DETACHED •



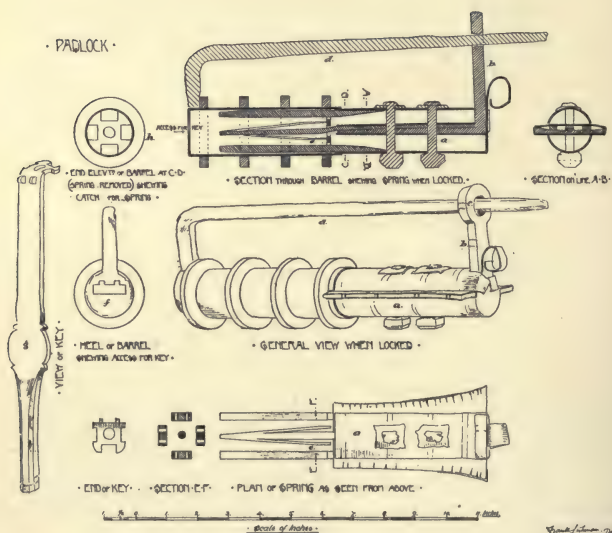
• PLAN OF SPRING AS SEEN FROM ABOVE •



PADLOCK FROM BOMBAY.

In the Carlisle Museum.

Frankfortman
June 25th 1895



"PORTCULLIS" LOCK.

In the Carlisle Museum.

one kind of the padlocks thus discovered, the bolt, *a*, has two perpendicular bars, *b*, each with a ring, *c*, at its end. In the other the bolt is a simple bar with the catch springs, and the parallel bar, *d*, of the box is curved over the mouth of the box and terminates in a ring, through which the bolt is passed before entering the box. A fragment of a lock on this principle, consisting of the box with its parallel bar attached to it, was found in association with some extended skeletons at Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath in Ireland. It is figured in vol. vi. of the *Archæological Journal*, where it is described as an iron pipe, its use being apparently unknown to the writer. It was found in connection with iron leaf-shaped spear heads, broad double edged swords, bronze pins, and enamelled ornaments, and the post-Roman period of the find is attested by the presence of fallow deer among the associated remains.¹ Another was found at Swanscombe in Kent, and is probably of the fifteenth century. In this instance the curved bar of the bolt fits into a socket in the parallel bar: it is engraved in our *Journal*.² A portion of a lock on this principle has been found at Uriconium.³ A lock on this principle was found in Bermondsey in 1847, and is engraved in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*.⁴ General Pitt-Rivers has found the keys, springs, and other portions of these tubular padlocks in the Romano-British villages at Woodcuts Common, and at Rotherley.⁵ Other instances are given by General Pitt-Rivers of this tubular padlock from India, from Cairo, from Russia, from Sweden, from Abyssinia, from Mogadore on the West Coast of Africa, from China, from Yarkand, Japan, from Hayti, and elsewhere.⁶ In instances from India and China the box of the lock is shaped like an animal, a lion, a horse, a fish, etc. The General concludes that "the spring tubular padlock of the Roman age in Europe is the same that is found throughout the whole region extending from Italy to China and Japan on east, northward into England and Scandinavia, southward into Abyssinia, and westward into

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi. pp. 101, 104.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xxxi. p. 78.

³ *Uriconium*, by T. Wright, F.S.A., p. 272.

⁴ Vol. xii, plate xiii. fig. 2.

⁵ *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, vol. i. p. 73, plate xxiv; vol. ii, p. 136, plate cv.

⁶ *Primitive Locks and Keys*, 19-20.

West Africa, and Algeria, Spain, and on as far as the West Indies. But the principle of these tubular spring locks never obtained much in England, having been repressed by locks on the ward and tumbler principles."

The first lock that I exhibit is of iron and was presented to the Carlisle Museum by a lady who labelled it "An Old Indian Rat Trap." She had acquired it from a brother who had purchased it, as a curiosity, in Bombay. With the aid of a friendly blacksmith, I proved the rat trap to be a lock by picking it, and by making a key thereto. The box is square, that is squarish in shape, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and is strengthened by six embracing lockets: the parallel bar is 13 inches long. The bolt is provided with three springs of the barbed arrow head kind and has a pyramidal shaped head about an inch in height, which projects from the box, when the lock is locked, and the two together make $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. An illustration of this lock is given in Plate I.

The second lock was recently purchased from a dealer by Mr. Robert Ferguson, F.S.A., for presentation to the Carlisle Museum. The box is cylindrical, of yellow metal, strengthened by four heavy iron rings; it is only $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, but the head of the bolts is a cylinder of the length of 5 inches, so that the two together make $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The parallel bar is 12 inches long. The bolt carries four barbed arrow head springs ranged round a central spike. This lock was purchased by the dealer from a clergyman near Bath, who called it a portcullis lock, but I can find no authority or reason for this name. The gate of the fortress of Moulton in India was closed by a lock somewhat similar to this, now in the Indian Museum,¹ and possibly such a lock may have been used to secure a portcullis, but I do not know of an instance. Or the name may refer to the way these locks close. I cannot trace the further history of this lock, which is represented in Plate II., but it is probably of Eastern origin.

I must conclude by expressing my acknowledgments to General Pitt-Rivers' valuable monograph, from which I have taken most of this little paper.

¹ Engraved in *Primitive Locks and Keys*, plate vi.

THE PROGRESSIVE OR EXPANSIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE-NAMES.¹

By the REV. CANON ATKINSON.

The common or usual notion with respect to place-names generally seems to be that they had from the first what may be called a wide or comprehensive meaning, or, at the least, application. Yet a few moments' consideration seems sufficient to do much more than merely suggest that this can scarcely be so. For, if we analyse names ending with the Old English *ton* or others terminating in the Danish *by*—to specify no other at present—it is at once obvious that the colonising name-giver and settler in either instance could but have applied the name he gave, in the former case to the spot he fenced in or 'tyned;' or to the buildings which he had made habitable for himself and his *familia* in the other.

In one place in his *Old English Manor*, we find Dr. Andrews expressing himself thus:—"the *tûn* was primarily the manor enclosure," (p. 151. n); in another, "the mansion with its enclosures, the original *tûn*." Elsewhere, writing of the earliest stages in the development of the manor, he says, "the first element to be formed on these artificial manors, if we may so call them, would be the dominical element, the *tûn*, as used in the translation of Augustine's Soliloquia and in the Gerêfa; the *by*, as we find it in the Danish place-names; consisting of the Lord's or Chief's house with its outbuildings and quarters for cattle which were set up in the clearing hewn from the forest," (p. 61); while the more comprehensive conception of what is referred to is more fully set out a few pages further on. "This was presumably a mansion of size and importance, standing adjacent to a court or yard, which probably formed the area between the house and the outbuildings, the quadrangle which was the customary form of homestead construction, so arranged

¹ Read at the Scarborough Meeting of the Institute, July 22nd, 1895.

for defence. Around this quadrangle were the barns for corn and hay, the stalls for horses and cattle, the pens for sheep, and folds for smaller animals. Somewhere within the court were ovens and kilns, and near by, the salt-house, the malt house, the ricks of hay and wood, and perhaps the mill. Within the inland were also enclosed fields or meadows, arable and pasture, together with a kitchen garden for herbs and vegetables. Near by, were the quarters for the slaves in or near the Lord's house, etc. Around all, was the permanent hedge which enclosed the Lord's *tân*, as the farmstead is called in the *Geréfa* and *Rectitudines*."

I quote this passage *in extenso* because it brings before us very distinctly the prominent idea involved in the word *tân*, namely, that of a *fenced-in place*. Not that I adopt the description as certainly or universally accurate. I accept the quadrangular space or court enclosed by the Lord's own dwelling and the various offices mentioned, on three sides; if indeed not, in some cases, all round. But I am inclined to demur to the enclosure of fields, meadows, pastures, &c., at least originally, within the precincts of the *tân* proper; at all events in these northern parts. At the date of the writings quoted, the description may have become a fairly accurate one in the more southerly districts of the kingdom. But that it was so originally, and especially in the north, there is certainly no proof. And besides, what proof there is, is as certainly not of a nature to confirm Dr. Andrews' views; but rather, distinctly antagonistic to them. And perhaps even this was to be looked for when the evidence relied upon seems mainly to be of the documentary, and not of the archæological, character.

But admitting, for the moment, that fields, meadows, gardens, pasture-land, were enclosed within the fence from which the *tân* derives its distinguishing name, still it is to be observed that the writer supposes a comparatively very large area belonging to the germinating manor, *which was not enclosed within the tân proper*, on which villages, hamlets, scattered houses, might be or were existing. In other words, the *tân* proper at first or originally only designated a limited spot selected at will out of an extensive sweep of the country side. But that

the whole extensive sweep of country began to be called after the special *tûn* in question from the time of its completion, there is not a scrap of evidence, as far as I am aware, to show. And what is thus asserted of places whose names end in *tûn* or *ton*, is equally true, perhaps even more strikingly so still, of places whose names terminate in the familiar Old Danish *by*.

A very singular, and, as I think, a very luminous as well as interesting illustration of the principle herein advanced is to be met with in what may be termed the "name history" of a manorial township which was, very soon after the Conquest, part and parcel of the earliest endowment of the nascent Abbey of Whitby.

The earliest writing in the Cartulary of the Abbey named, may be dated as far back as the first decade of the second half of the twelfth century, and can hardly be later than 1178 or 1180. In this early writing, among the specifications of the original grants made by William de Percy, the founder, and Alan his eldest son and heir, we find the following :—"Nedhrebi, *i.e.* Steinsecher, Thingwala, Leirpel, Helredale, Gnip, *i.e.* Hauchesgard, etc." And what we cannot well help noticing is that two of the places specified have alternative names; and also that the second of these alternative names, in either case, is the later and better known. The two possessions or manorial townships which, about the year 1178 were more familiarly known as Steinsecher and Hauchesgarth, had at the time of the foundation, or just a century earlier, been distinguished by the names Nedhrebi and Gnip; the former existence of which last name, it may be interjected, is still attested by the survival of the local designation of a hill called 'Nype Howe,' so spelt occasionally, although the form 'Gnipe Howe,' is adopted by most, and surely has the better authority to support it.

The fact of the supersession of the old Old Danish name in either of these two cases by another belonging, in point of fact, to the same vocabulary, is sufficiently interesting, and would lead to an equally interesting series of considerations if we attempted to account for the fact by aid of an historical investigation of the circumstances. But this will not be approached in the present paper, as it would lead us astray from the study of the matters

connected with the locality called Gnipe or Hauchesgarth, and the inferences and deductions thereupon dependent.

There can be no question that both of the earlier and superseded names, Netherby and Gnipe, belong to the class or section of "descriptive place-names;" the descriptiveness depending upon local position in the one instance, and upon natural configuration in the other. As there was an Overbi—which in our modern speech would take the form of Upperby—as well as a Netherby, the question and nature of the descriptiveness need not be further entered into as regards that one of the two names. As to the other, or Gnip, Gnipe, Nype, correlated as it must be with the distinguished elevation of its survival in what is called Nype Howe, the merest reference to the Icelandic Gnipa, with its equivalent form Gnúpr, meaning a peak, an elevated point, is sufficient to assure us of its descriptiveness, even without the additional suggestiveness residing in the facts that it was a word of frequent occurrence in local names in Iceland, and that the plural Gnupar as well as the singular Gnúpr afforded names for divers settlements or farms in the island named.

But our interest will centre more in the name which, at so early a period, superseded the, at that time, so familiar and so frequently adopted local or farm-name, Gnipe or Nype:—that is, Hauchesgard or Hawksgarth.

It may be said that this name is descriptive too. So are all local names belonging to the same category. But then its descriptiveness is of a totally different character from that inherent in such terms as *over*, *upper*, or *gnipe* with the meaning "peak." As regards its first element, or Haukr, it is descriptive in precisely the same manner and to the same extent as Northmanneby, Ugleberdesby (both in its near vicinity), Ormsby, Daneby, or any other of the hosts of local place-names involving a personal name as, or in, their first element. Hauk was the name of the man, chief or lord, who devised and wrought the *gardh* or garth itself.

But it is more important to ask, "What of the said *gardh* or garth itself?" The answer to this question is perhaps fuller and more pregnant than may be at the outset anticipated.

Because, in contrast with that of which Dr. Andrews has written in his description of the *tûn*, the representation does not depend solely on mere written statements and the deductions made from such statements, but upon most evident and unmistakeable survivals of a material and very abiding nature.

It is a long time now since my attention was first called to these material survivals. Latterly, in virtue of inquiries made of me by the surveyors engaged in the operations preparatory to the execution of the Ordnance maps drawn to the 25-inch scale, and of the representations of a much interested friend living in the neighbourhood, interest as well as attention was more strongly aroused, and arrangements were made for a more deliberate and systematic inspection of the place and its remains from older times, than I had ever yet given it and them. The place and the remains adverted to will be found on sheet 32 of the 6-inch Ordnance survey, and on sheet XXXII. 12 of the maps drawn to the scale of 25·344 inches to the mile. In the former they are described as "Whitby Lathes," with banks and a moat delineated. In the latter the verbal description is "Whitby Lathes (Site of)," with "Manor House" added as the designation of the nature of the dwelling-house indicated as there present. I need not, of course, say that the delineation is perfectly accurate; that the moat (or what remains of it), very noteworthy as well as very traceable, is there, and that the massive remains of ancient embankments arrest one's attention in divers directions as soon as he leaves the high-road on which the place abuts. The one thing in the description just now cited which was not verified by the evidences all round, as soon as the eye rested upon them, was the accuracy of the term "Manor House." Not that there was any reason, or suggestion of reason, for doubting it. That was simply a circumstance requiring verification of another kind. It depended on historical evidence and not the mere testimony of the senses.

But the historical testimony was not in abeyance even, and much less far to seek. Within a few minutes of the commencement of our survey I was told, and by the "Seneschal" himself—this Whitby Lathes being one of

the dependent manors associated with the head manor of Whitby—that the Manorial Court is still held there; that it is there that the “homage” assembles, and all the formal preliminaries and observances of the Court are duly attended to and scrupulously gone through; and that it is not until all this has been carefully done according to established custom, that the Court is adjourned, and the more social parts of the ceremonial duly honoured and fulfilled at another place.

Now, here I must advert to another topic, closely connected, however, with the matters now under notice. I mean that “Whitby Lathes” is not a name of *very* ancient imposition, like Gnipe, or even like Hauchesgarth, or its still more recent representative, Hawsker. It is, in point of fact, not possible to say exactly when it was first imposed. I do not meet with it in any of the Whitby documents—and I think I am familiar with them all—earlier than the first quarter of the fourteenth century; and it was most likely not until the development of the agricultural economy of the Convent had reached large proportions that the name, which is fully self-explanatory, was newly affixed. At the end of the century named, the Convent people had become farmers on a large scale indeed. The catalogue of their live stock shows that they owned three hundred and ninety-four head of “neat stock,” oxen, bullocks, cows and calves; three thousand, six hundred, five score and nine—it must be remembered that they reckoned by the “long hundred” and six score to the hundred—sheep; and so on, according to the proportion of the times; and the continuation of the inventory shows in the most striking way that Whitby Lathes was far away the greatest and most important of the agricultural establishments belonging to the Abbey. What then, as it seems to me, we are not so much justified in assuming, as bound to assume, is that the agricultural development had rendered it expedient, if not necessary, to effect such a territorial rearrangement or readjustment as is implied in what is advanced above.

Possibly a few words illustrative of what has thus been said, are called for here. During the incumbency of Abbot Benedict, or *circa* 1138–1148 (when he resigned)—Aschetillus or Aschetinus de Houkasgart obtained the

sanction of the Abbot and Convent of Whitby to build a chapel at Haukesgarth and to endow it with certain neighbouring lands. This Aschetin de Haukesgarth, whose first name is very variously spelt, was the founder of the not unimportant family of de Haukesgarth. His father, who exchanged lands at Newholm, near Dunsley, for the Haukesgarth lands, was called William de Newham. The family seems to have been continued through William, Aschetil's eldest son. At the close of the thirteenth century, a Thomas de Haukesgarth, almost certainly a great-grandson of Aschetil's, is the lord of Haukesgarth; and in 1308 we find an Adam de Haukesgarth, the then representative of the family in lineal descent, quitclaiming to the Convent all his right and claim in and to the said manor itself, and all that appertained thereto. No motive for, or explanation of this remarkable cession and surrender is assigned; and there seems to be nothing in the written records to afford any enlightenment on the subject. It is, however, certainly probable—I think more than probable—that Thomas de Haukesgarth, who became Abbot of Whitby some fourteen years later, (that is, in or about 1322,) was at that time a monk in the Whitby fraternity. Certainly no fully satisfactory elucidation of the circumstances under comment is supplied by the recollection: but we are at liberty to form the hypothesis that the cession of the manor just spoken of and the succeeding elevation of the then monk were not totally unconnected. The certainties, however, are that, in 1308, the Manor of Haukesgarth with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, reverted to the Convent of Whitby; and that, assuredly within a very short time of the same period, what had hitherto been the manor house of the manor called Haukesgarth, became available for different purposes, and received a new name exactly in accordance with the said new purposes. It was then called, as it continues to be called to this day, Whitby Lathes; in standard English, Whitby Barns; the word *lathe* in that sense being hardly obsolete, even yet, in the Whitby district and neighbourhood.

That this historical statement is no matter of mere conjecture or hypothesis is certain. There is a document in the Whitby Cartulary, which must find its date

within the first ten or twelve years of the fourteenth century, in which the "grangia" of "Whitbilathes" is specifically mentioned, together with that of Stakesby. So early had the new name been framed and imposed.

But this brings in, at least furnishes the occasion for the introduction of, considerations of another cast or description. There are in the *Cartularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby*, published by the Surtees Society, copies of several *Computi*, belonging to the latter part of the fourteenth century, in each of which we find, in repeated iteration, such entries as the following:—"De villa" or "De firma villae de Hakenes," so much; "De Curia ibidem" so much. "De manerio de Eschedale" "De Curia ibidem;" "De manerio de Stakesby" "De Curia ibidem"; "De firma de Sothfilinge" "De Curia ibidem." But in every case, on coming to the Haukesgarth and Staynsyker district, the entries are "De Curia de Whitbylathes" "De Manerio de Haukesgarthe." The manor was the manor of Haukesgarth: but the court was the court of Whitby Lathes.

Collate this fact with the fact mentioned above, that the Manor-court is still formally held at Whitby Lathes, the dwelling house there being characterised in the 25-inch Ordnance map as the ancient Manor house; and a singularly interesting circumstance is brought before our minds, with one or more singularly interesting deductions following as consequent upon it.

I have already drawn attention to the material fact that, in anything there may be to be said about Hauchesgarth, in special reference to its physical characters, what there is to say does not depend simply and solely on written accounts, or deductions drawn from such records, but that the material remains of the *garth* itself are there to testify for themselves.

In direct connection with that statement, I would remark that our attention can hardly be fully directed to this particular term *gardh*, its meaning and applications, without our thoughts being turned towards the recollection of such names as Mikligard, Asgardr, Midgardr, Holmgardar, and so forth; and a moment or two later, it is likely, of the more modern Danish *gaard*, its meaning and application.

It is not a little curious as well as instructive to mark the transitions of meaning which are so strikingly observable as belonging to this word, the modern form of which is *garth*. First, we have "yard" simply, denoting an enclosed space: then we proceed to "courtyard," or "court with the premises around it": then to the "house or building itself as something of marked solidity and stability:" and so to the conception of a "strong-hold, a fortress." Nor is even this quite all. As the pure Icelandic or Old Norse passes through the dissolving stage which terminates with its becoming modern Islandic, *gardhr* takes the sense of a *fence* of any kind, especially the fence around the homestead; more particularly the "home field," which is also called *tungardhr*. In speaking of that curious survival from ancient times, the Whitby Horngarth, I have said, in one place in my book on *Old Whitby Memorials*; "It is scarcely possible, if we wish to form a true notion of what the Horngarth service really was, to lay too much stress on the point that the actual and philological meaning of *garth* in both the old Whitby terms, Acregarth and Horngarth, is "FENCE," whatever the material employed in making it—earth, stones, wood, hedging-stuff, or what not may happen to be; and *fence* only; and even I think, it might be insisted without the idea of *enclosure* involved or implied. The *garth*, whether an enclosing garth or not, is still a 'garth' or 'fence.'"

And certainly, if the object of the Ordnance surveyors had been to illustrate what the Glossarist has written, as above, it is a little difficult to perceive how they could have effected their purpose better than in the delineation of the ancient Haukesgarth, represented as it is in and by the less ancient, but still sufficiently venerable, Whitby Lathes. For it is not possible to ignore or dispute the identity of the site of the latter with that of the manorial or lord's residence, or material *manerium*, in the sense that belongs especially to that word, of "mansion" or homestead. There is the moat with allied earthworks which cannot but suggest the "stronghold." There are the massive hanks, still several feet in width, on the side undefended by water, making it no difficult work for a moderately active imagination to recall the mounded

ramparts of earth and stone which, capped with palisading or abbattis, equally effected the enclosure and fulfilled the defensive purposes of the stronghold.

The agricultural and other economic exigencies of the monks—to say nothing of those of the post-dissolution farmer—may have interfered with the integrity of the most ancient parts of the more ancient works; and the more modern as well as the more ancient highway-master may have added his share in the way of defacement and alteration: but there is enough still left not simply to arrest the archæologist's attention, but to excite the mere tourist or wayfarer's curiosity. And I do not think it is particularly difficult to pick out the places whereat the hands of both the monkish labourer and the old causeway-constructor have left their discernible traces.

But what ought, from our point of view, to be most dwelt upon, is the indisputable fact that the original Hauchesgard—whoever the Haukr who constructed it may have been—must, as a mere local name, have designated a very limited area. This survival of the moat and these massive earthworks, (or “banks” if we like to call them so), show us the dimensions as accurately as if we beheld it in its pristine completeness and strength. No doubt the time soon came when the manorial area granted to Haukr came to be called by the name of the lord's homestead or (adopting the Scripture sense) “mansion”: but, until that time came, Haukesgarth only meant the said homestead, mansion, or settlement. At present, following the name-system adopted in the maps of the Ordnance Survey, the general district is styled the “Township of Hawsker cum Stainsacre”; and it might be very difficult to delineate Hawsker proper with complete accuracy. But a few names still survive—such as Gnipe Howe, Lathegarth, Moorgate Lees (wrongly entered as Moorgate *Lathes* in the Ordnance maps) and particularly Whitby Lathes itself—to speak to the fact that Hauksgarth was by no means the sole or exclusive local place-name in vogue throughout the district which eventually claimed to be known as Hawsker. As to other ancient place-names finding their location within the same limits, it must suffice to name Overby, Netherby or Stainsacre, Lairpel or Larpool, Thingwala, and Helredale—a name lately revived for Parish Council purposes.

In short, just as has been already seen, as far as the argument from induction goes, the same must have been the case with entire classes of names ending in *-ton* and *-by*, so we see by ocular demonstration in the case of this place-name ending in *-garth*, that what came eventually to be the proper and distinctive name of a manor, township, parish or parochial district, had originally but a very limited areal application. It represented merely what came afterwards to be called if not "The Hall", or "The Manor House", or some equivalent epithet, the "Capitale Messuagium" of old formal documents. Its expansion of sense, such that it came to include the area of the hundreds or thousands of acres ultimately understood as comprised under the specific designation, was the result of later development.

The conclusion thus formulated may be illustrated by a glance or two in the direction of other place-names, either already mentioned, or at least named as neighbouring places in the list of villis scheduled in the same original grant to the Convent of Whitby. For instance let us take "Nedhrebi, *i.e.* Steinsecher", and Snetune. Netherby or the Lower *by* was of course so called in distinction from or contrast with Overby or the Upper or Higher *by*. But its name, Netherby, within a century or so, was replaced by one the intrinsic signification of which should not be overlooked. The *by*, the original habitable building or set of buildings, the permanent residence or "mansion" had given way to the *acre*:—"the field, (*i.e.*, the arable land, ground for tillage" (for this is Vigfussen's definition or meaning of the Norse *akr*); or, when opposed to *tûn*, the meaning becomes what we intend when we say "the corn-fields": the same sense, moreover, being entirely preserved in the oldest English use of the same word. The limited areal sense in *by* had been replaced through the use of the wider, but still limited, areal sense of a term which implied the then corn-lands of the estate concerned.

Yes, but in those early days the "acres" or "corn-lands" formed but one unit, and not a large one, in the aggregate area made up of the composite group of units represented by, besides the "acres," the "sylva pastilis," the heather-clad moor, the general commonable lands of the entire praedial area under notice. No long time,

very probably, (but it is not easy to say how long or how short the time was first), and the entire aggregate, the whole grant or estate, began to be known by the name which had originally specialised only the cultivable and cultivated portion of land thereto appertaining.

The illustration afforded in the instance of Snetune, though of a slightly different character, is perhaps more interesting still. The earliest mention of the place is in the Domesday record of the lands granted to Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, where the entry begins "In WITEBI et SNETON (berewica) ad geldum sunt, &c." Snetum then was a "berewic" to Whitby. Turning to Berewic in the Anglo Saxon dictionary, the student is referred to *beretun*, where he finds that word and *berewic* explained by "a corn farm, a grange, a corn village, a court-yard." Passing by, for the present, the idea of limited area, which is either expressed or implied in each of these somewhat incongruous definitions, it is to be observed that the idea of something detached is distinctly suggested in the conjunction of Sneton with Whitby. Whitby is the head or capital manor; Sneton the dependency, locally separate and distinct or detached, but, otherwise than *locally*, closely connected still. And here an observation neither uninteresting or uninformative suggests itself. Referring again to the A.S. dictionary, under the head *Snæd*, which is defined as "a little piece, a morsel, a bit or fragment," the compound word "snæd-landes" is given with the explanation "a piece of land taken from a manor." And this is precisely what, relatively to Whitby, Sneton was in Domesday times. It was the "Snæd-tun," the manorial grange or corn farm, which with its appendages formed the court or hay-enclosed space appertaining to the more important caput, or capital establishment, which Whitby then was, and more especially in the Confessor's time. Whitby might be, relatively and as to her geographical area, only small, and Sneton large. But the Domesday entry, by telling what the head manor and town was geldable at, tells also what her material greatness and importance were, and so emphasises the relevancy of the name of Snetun—a detached grange or farming-vill whose name in the near future came to designate the whole area of four thousand acres and upwards of intermingled

“acre” or arable, woodland pasture, moor, swamp, waste, common, which then, in a way little allowed for now a-days, constituted the severed bit of the capital lordship. There was the limited *tân*, or hedged in grange first, but in the issue it was the whole areal expanse of the lordship that was denoted.

THE ORIGIN OF SOME LINES OF SMALL PITS ON
ALLERSTON AND EBBERSTON MOORS, NEAR SCAM-
RIDGE DYKES, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF
SCARBOROUGH.¹

By J. R. MORTIMER.

Various suggestions have been made by different persons, as to the origin of these pits—some from an antiquarian, others from a geological point of view.

Thus, Dr. Young, in his *History of Whitby* (published in 1817), page 676, after describing an extensive collection of pits, called “stone hags,” on Blakey Moor, on the road between Castleton and Kirby Moorside, adds; referring especially to the Ebberston Common group, the subject of my paper:—

“Another cluster, similar to this, remains to be described. It is within the rabbit warren of Mr. M. Herbert at Scamridge, near Ebberston, where it occupies a space of about 500 yards, but not more than 50 broad, on a dry bank facing the east. The pits are generally smaller than those at Stone Hags, but, like them, are of various forms, chiefly oblong.” He continues: “This remarkable cluster is surrounded by trenches that will afterwards be noticed; and it is observable that some of the trenches on Scamridge moor, and on the moors between that and Danby, have pits at regular distances on the sides of the trench.” He then adds: “By this time the reader must be prepared for admitting the opinion that these excavations are the remains of human abodes of a very ancient date.”

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1865, Canon Atkinson also expresses this opinion; and Canon Greenwell in the *Archæological Journal*, 1865, vol. xxii. p. 99, thus writes.—

“We find in both districts the same mode of constructing the habitations; for, though in the North Riding the foundation of the hut is generally a circular hollow, sunk in the surface of the ground, yet I have found near Ebberston, in connection with an entrance through the well-known *Scamridge Dykes* a number of hut-circles constructed in exactly the same manner as those so common in Northumberland.”

¹ Read at the Scarborough Meeting of the Institute, July 18th, 1895.

This then, was the opinion entertained by antiquaries.

On the other hand, geologists, to whose views Canon Atkinson has since reverted, held that the pits were sunk in searching for ironstone. Mr. C. Fox Strangways, of the Geological Survey, supports this view in his Geological Memoir of this district; but, in a letter to me, July 8th, 1893, he thinks the pits in this particular neighbourhood of "Red Dyke" may be natural sinkings of the surface.

In June, 1891, I first visited a short length of these pits nearest to Allerston; and again, in July, 1892, in company with Mr. Chadwick of Malton, without coming to any decision as to the purpose for which they had been made. I, therefore (June 14th, 1893), revisited the pits, and with the assistance of a labourer, removed from two of medium size (5 to 6 feet in diameter) the turf and soily matter which had accumulated in them.

At a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, we reached the original bottoms, which were roughly dish-shaped in form, and somewhat uneven. This time I walked the whole length of all the lines in the neighbourhood, examining most carefully each pit, and noticed that between those nearest to Allerston there was an undisturbed piece of ground, measuring 2 to 3 feet in width. I also observed that along this line the distance, measured from centre to centre of two adjacent pits, was from 9 feet to $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet; whilst in the adjoining branch line to the west, the distance was from 12 to $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet from centre to centre, very regular, where no after enlargement had been made. At some comparatively recent time, a few of the original pits appeared to have been deepened and lengthened in one direction. These enlarged pits were for a time perplexing, until I noticed that in some of them there stood a little water, and that in others rushes and tufts of water-grass were growing, indicating that they had recently contained water. I also observed that each of the largest and deepest of them had one long sloping side. These facts suggested to me that some of the original pits into which probably water had often filtered and remained for a time had, during dry periods, been enlarged and deepened by the farmers, as the readiest means of obtaining water for their cattle on these high grounds; and that the sloping side was to admit of the cattle reaching the water. I believe this

is now almost the only way of collecting such an important requisite for their live stock. This series of pits runs with its northern end into a somewhat shallow trench called "Wetmoor Dyke," so named most probably from the water which stands there in hollows on the surface more frequently than in other parts of the moor.

The next series of pits consists of two lines running northwards from "Ebberston common house," commencing a little over a mile N.E. of those just described. These I also carefully examined. In the southern end of the largest of these two excavated lines, the pits are very similar in appearance to those on Allerston Warren to the south; but in proceeding northwards along the line, they were observed to increase in length and to run somewhat into one another. This tendency continued to increase till they finally formed a continuous *trench* before reaching the north end of a double entrenchment, which met them at right angles, and the two seem to end in one of the southern branches of "Deep Dale."

In venturing to comment on the two theories above referred to, I do not hesitate to remark that the pits on Allerston and Ebberston moors are mostly too small, and would have been very unsuitable for human habitations, as many of them in this immediate neighbourhood must have been, during the greater part of the year, half filled with water. The habitation hypothesis of the antiquary I cannot therefore indorse.

In regard to the speculations of the geologist, I have the presumption to say that there is no ironstone to be found on this moor near the surface, and, therefore, it is hardly likely that these numerous shallow excavations would have been made in searching for this material.

Equally unsatisfactory is the suggestion that they might be natural sinkings of the surface, for such would not have been so regular in line and distance from each other, moreover, such a cause would not account for the more or less raised bank which is visible on one, and sometimes slightly on both sides of the lines of pits.

Some other explanation must be given.

After my first visit in 1891, I mentioned these pits to Mr. Matthew Slater of Malton, who had seen them and the extensive "Dykes" (entrenchments) in the same

neighbourhood, during his botanical rambles on these moors, and he shrewdly suggested to me that they might be unfinished entrenchments.

Not until after my last and very careful inspection of the whole of the lines of pits, in June, 1894, was I fully convinced that Mr. Slater's suggestion was the right one. They are almost certainly the beginnings of lines of dykes, or entrenchments, which from some cause or other, were never completed. The rows of pits I have coloured red on the map, and the lines of completed trenches I have coloured blue, from which distinction will be seen the connection between the two. Their unfinished condition is a fortunate accident, as it gives us a key to the mode of proceeding in forming the extensive and puzzling entrenchments which traverse the moors and the Yorkshire wolds in every direction.

It would seem that, on planning the directions which the dykes were to take, a line of workmen was placed at regular distances with orders to commence work, and that after having so far penetrated the ground as to form the pits, the workmen in those particular sections, from some cause or other (probably, along one line, the wet nature of the ground, as previously stated) received orders to discontinue their work; hence the production of these rows of regularly placed pits and slightly raised banks which have so long perplexed alike the antiquary and the geologist. Certainly, the long prevailing opinion that these lines of hollows on Allerston and Ebberston moors at least mark the sites of pit-dwellings, or the shafts left in mining, must now be entirely given up.

In addition to these lines of pits, there are also on the moors, and in numerous places on the chalk wolds, very similar pits, but mostly in clusters. These also have often been erroneously named pit-dwellings; but, when carefully examined, they are in almost every instance found to have been formed by quarrying for ironstone, chalk, clay, or gravel, for building and other purposes during mediæval times, and up to the last century. Perhaps a few on the chalk wolds were made even as early as ancient British times, for the purpose of obtaining flints, which were used for making sling-stones, axes, and other rough tools and weapons.

While I reject, in the main, the village theory of these groups of pits, it must not be supposed that I entirely ignore the existence of the remains of pit-dwellings in Yorkshire, as, in several instances, I have discovered their undoubted remains in connection with some British barrows which I have opened. In my rambles on the moors, I have also observed pits which I thought were very probably the sites of scattered dwellings.

Surface appearances, however, are very unreliable proofs, as pits made for whatever purpose, after a few centuries, acquire from atmospheric and other causes a very similar outline; and, therefore, the pick and the shovel in the hands of trained workmen, under experienced supervision, are the most reliable tests in solving such problems.

BEVERLEY IN THE OLDEN TIMES.¹

By W. STEPHENSON, M.R.C.S.

At intervals along the eastern foot of the Yorkshire Wolds, which formed the coast line of a pre-glacial sea, springs of water, finding their way from the chalk, unite to form streams locally known as Becks. Most of these become tributaries of the river Hull, which is the natural effluent of the district, and carries its waters to the Humber. Near certain of these Becks, in early times, settlements were formed, of which, whilst some never became more than villages, others, *e.g.* Bridlington, Driffield, and Beverley, developed into towns of more or less importance. It is of the last mentioned that I am about to speak, hoping that a sketch of its position and history may add to the interest of the visit of your society to the capital of the East Riding.

Beverley stands like the two other towns I have mentioned, embayed in a nook at the foot of the Wolds, almost at their south-east corner. The position and form of the *old* town were determined by the existence and course of the streams which, finding their origin in springs issuing from the ground on the west side of the town, joined to form Beverley Beck. Most of these streams have been lost sight of from various causes; in some cases by alterations in the ground level; in others from exhaustion of the natural chalk drainage, or by the diversion of the supply by well-sinking operations. In illustration of the last named mode it may be mentioned that at Anlaby, about seven miles from Beverley, the water which turned a watermill, was lost through the supply being tapped during the boring at Spring-head, to obtain water for the town of Hull. Others have been covered in and used as sewers. But some of the springs may yet be seen at certain seasons supplying their quota

¹ Read at the Scarborough Meeting of the Institute, July 18th, 1895.

to Willow Row in Westwood near the chalk pits. This water finds its way down Walker Beck, which, although now covered in, follows a course well known and shown on the Ordnance map. Another of these old water-courses made its way down the Market-place. Both of them were no doubt originally streams such as may be seen meandering through village streets in many parts of the country, serving at once for an easily obtained water supply, and also as sewers to receive the outcastings of the town.

The configuration of the *old* town was no doubt due to its founders having, in forming the streets, followed the windings of these tributaries of Beverley Beck.

The conditions which resulted from these circumstances would be conducive to a collection of water such as is supposed to have given the site of the town its name "Beverley," a word which most authorities consider to mean the loch, pool, or lake of beavers. Whether a lake, according to our present understanding of that word, ever really existed is I think uncertain, but, however that may have been, the site was undoubtedly a hollow swampy place, intersected by streams, and at certain periods of the year liable to have its lake-like character increased by the overflowing of the neighbouring river, or by the backing up of its waters by the river's tides. So far as I am aware, no authenticated remains of beavers have been found at Beverley. That they were, however, denizens of the district we know, because Mr. T. Boynton found their bones in the lake-dwelling at Ulrome in this riding.

From a consideration of the facts which I have related we may, I think, picture Beverley in mediæval times as a town whose traffic was very largely carried on by water, through whose streets ran rivulets, and which on its eastern side was approached by boats, at any rate in winter or during wet seasons. Indeed as late as the early part of the present century, before the drainage of the district was carried out, people from the "Carrs" (as the lowlands on the east side are called) still came as far as Norwood in their Carr-waddles, flat bottomed boats which floated in a few inches of water, and were propelled by poles. A ditch which was part of the passage, though now dry, still exists near Swinemoor Lane.

That the authorities were desirous at an early period

to improve the state of the town we learn from the town records and accounts. Henry III. granted them the right to levy tolls on conveyances bringing articles to the town for sale, as well as upon the articles themselves, for pavage purposes. An enumeration of some of these will give an idea of the articles of commerce dealt in at that time; they consisted amongst others of wine, woad, ashes, wool, sheep, goats, wood, salt, salt and fresh herrings, pike, etc.

It was, however, in the fourteenth century, between 1344 and 1366, that work was carried out which I believe very materially altered the condition and appearance of the town. During that period the town accounts show that immense quantities of "white stone" (chalk) were brought from Westwood, and used in raising the streets to a higher level, probably to the level of the banks of the streams which ran through them; possibly higher, for some of the houses at any rate are built on made ground.

The names of the streets into which the "white stone" was carried are given in the accounts; they are Lathegate, Walkergate, Crossbridge, Hengate, Flemingate, Aldgate (this was perhaps the present Highgate), Barleyholme (not now known), Corn Market, Eastgate, Keldgate, Toll Gavel, Fish Market, Minster Moorgate, and the Dynges. All these streets, with the exception noted, still remain. This work no doubt put most of Beverley's water-courses entirely out of sight; all, perhaps, except Walker Beck which was open until some seventy years ago.

I was much interested in watching the exposure of this fourteenth-century work, during the excavations which were made in all the streets for the drainage works carried out a few years ago; and in noting how the "white stone" had been used in combination with timber, etc. From notes taken at the time, I am able to describe what I saw.

First it will be well to state that, on a substratum of boulder clay or marshy gravelly silt, every street in the town has been raised more or less. The depth filled in varies from four or five feet in some parts, to twelve at the east end of the Minster. Then, in order to avoid being tedious, I will describe what I saw in Highgate,

the street which leads to the north porch of the Minster, as it is typical of the rest. A trench was cut down this street, which at the south or Minster end was 7 feet 3 inches, and at its north end 6 feet 9 inches in depth. From the present street level to the greatest depth excavated, the soil is all "made," the natural surface being but barely reached at any point in the whole length of the trench. When found it appeared to consist of black peaty material, with leaves and hazel-nuts still distinguishable. In order to make a good foundation on this bog, branches of hazel had been laid on the surface always with their length across the street. Upon these and lying in the same direction young trees were laid side by side, in some parts close enough to touch, in others 12 or 18 inches apart. Next in order a layer of chalk and occasionally pieces of waste building stone were regularly laid. The chalk and stone were in large regularly cut blocks, so shaped that each one fitted with its neighbour; indeed the workmen displaced them by inserting a crowbar or pickaxe into the joints, except in cases where they were too large to be so dealt with, and had to be broken up with heavy hammers.

The materials already named formed strata about two feet thick. The rest of the depth had been filled in with clay, earth, chalk rubble, bricks, sea-rolled pebbles—indeed everything which goes to form "filling in."

Some soles of the pointed shoes such as were fashionable at the time the work was carried on, pieces of mediæval glazed pottery, iron nails, and a large number of small horse shoes, together with the tusks of boars and other odds and ends, were the chief relics turned up.

That the work had in all cases been continuous, and the filling in done at once, was shown by the fact that the chalk layer, which I examined carefully, showed no signs of wear, as it would very speedily have done had it been used as a road.

At different points on the outskirts of the town where excavations have been made, the boulder clay is found close to the surface, only covered with road metal, and I have no doubt if proper observations were made it would be possible to define the limits of the lake-like depression which forms the site of Beverley.

Beverley Beck, a stream about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, was of such importance as one of the main approaches to the town that at an early period, probably in the reign of Edward II., its course was altered, the channel being deepened and straightened, and rendered capable of allowing vessels to pass up and down. The more winding and indirect stream is still represented by a ditch which runs into the north side of the Beck. This Beck was the waterway by which merchandise was conveyed to Beverley.

The articles still carried by way of the Beck to or from Beckside, as that part of the town is called, are chiefly coals, bricks, chalk, leather, linseed, timber, tannery materials, whiting, etc. These are conveyed in vessels called by the old Norse name keels, which, in many ways are not unlike the old Viking's ships in form and rigging, as well as name.

Owing to the communication which Beverley had with the Humber and the sea by the river Hull, it was in mediæval times treated as a sea port, and had to furnish from time to time vessels for the King's use. Edward III. requisitioned "The Godale" of Beverley to carry provisions to his garrison of Berwick-on-Tweed, paying £2 14s. for wage.

Let us now consider the question—who were the first inhabitants of Beverley?

There are, on the common pasture of Westwood, several round barrows like those which are plentifully scattered over the wolds. Canon Greenwell considers that these were raised by a pre-Roman British people of the early iron age. In one he discovered the two wheels of a chariot, and what was almost certainly an iron bit for a horse; no bones of either men or beasts were found, but the nature of the soil might account for this fact.

At Arras, on the Wolds between Beverley and Market Weighton, there were upwards of a hundred barrows, many of which were opened in 1816-7 by Messrs. Clough and Stillingfleet. Amongst other things found in them were portions of chariots, horse trappings, hand mirrors, etc. In 1877 another of the same group, which had been overlooked, was accidentally opened by some workmen; it contained the skeleton of a woman with whom had been interred the wheels of a chariot, a bronze mirror, two

bronze bits for horses, and several other portions of harness. There is, I think, not much reason to doubt that the builders of the Beverley barrows were closely connected with those of the Arras barrows, whose mode of interment and worldly possessions appear to have been quite similar.

With regard to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain, although fragments of Roman pottery have been accidentally turned up during agricultural operations about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Beverley, there is no evidence, direct or indirect, to show that that people had any settlement in or near Beverley, neither did any Roman road come there.

It is not until Anglo-Saxon times that we get any historical notice of the place. John, bishop of York, afterwards known as St. John of Beverley, who was born at Harpham on the Wolds, during his episcopate founded a monastery, "Inderawood," on the site subsequently named "Beverley." When he resigned his bishopric he retired to that place and died there. From that time Beverley has had a history, and the simple Anglo-Saxon church, renowned for the possession of the shrine of so famous a wonder-working saint, increased in importance ecclesiastically, and in architectural beauty developed into the lovely minster which you are to study to-morrow.

Around this church the town of Beverley gradually grew, becoming in course of time one of the important mediæval towns in the country. At the time of the dissolution of the collegiate church its population was greater than that of Kingston-upon-Hull.

In mediæval days Beverley was several times visited by royal persons, who came to worship at the shrine of St. John of Beverley, to seek protection or aid in enterprises which they had in hand, or to render thanks and homage for favours already received.

Athelstan, when on his way to Scotland on an expedition against King Constantine, worshipped at the shrine, vowing to confer benefits on the church if his expedition were successful, leaving his dagger on the altar as a pledge of his fidelity, and taking with him the banner of St. John. Having returned victorious he bestowed lands on

the church, made it a collegiate establishment, and conferred upon it and a portion of the adjacent country the privilege of sanctuary. The limits of the sanctuary were marked by crosses. The base and part of the shaft of one of these still remain in a hedge on the road to Skidby, a village south-west of the town. Others were placed, one at Molescroft to the north, on the road towards Cherry or North Burton, and near Killingwoldgraves on the Bishop Burton road another shaft remains.

St. John's banner was again carried for King Stephen, with those of St. Peter of York and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, to the battle of Northallerton, with good effect. At a later period, however, neither the banner nor the fame of St. John's shrine served to protect Beverley when, as Holinshed tells, the "Scotch under Bruce having defeated Edward II., after they had spoiled the monasterie of Rivale and taken their pleasure there, they passed forth into Yorkeswolde destroieng that countrie even almost unto Beverlie, which towne they ransomed, receiving a summe of monie for sparing it least they should have burned it, as they did others."

Stephen is said to have visited Beverley in 1149, and fined the inhabitants for having given shelter to Henry Murdac.

In 1290 (November 24th) Edward I. was entertained for three days by the Collegiate Society of St. John, and in 1300 he came again, accompanied by his queen and eldest son. It is probable that he paid a third visit in 1306, as certain documents witnessed by him are dated from Beverley.

After the battle of Agincourt, on the day of which battle the tomb of St. John is said to have exuded oil, Henry V. did not fail to come and render thanks there for his victory.

The town was for a time the head quarters of Charles I., during his fight with the Parliament. Tradition says that he lodged in the room over the North Bar, or in the house adjoining it on the west side.

Was Beverley ever a fenced town? This is a question which cannot be with certainty answered. It had in mediæval times five gates called Bars, of which but one, the North Bar, a very fine specimen of probably fifteenth-

century brickwork, remains. With the exception of the portcullis this Bar is complete in all its parts. The other Bars were Norwood Bar; South Bar adjoining Eastgate near Friars' Lane; Keldgate Bar; and Newbegin Bar. These had all disappeared by the commencement of the present century. In Edward II.'s, and again in Edward III.'s, reigns, there are references to the state of the town's defences, which appear to have fallen into decay.

When Leland visited the place during his tour of inspection for Henry VIII. the condition of affairs is thus described by him:—"The toun is not wallid: but yet be there many fair gate of brike. North Barre, Newbigyn bar by west, and Kellegate Barre by west also." After a second visit, he says, "Beverle is a very larg town, but I cowl not perceyve that ever hit was waulled, though ther be certen gates of stone portcolesed for defence."

Probably the correct view with regard to its fortifications is that at an early mediæval period the Bars were connected by an earthen rampart outside which was a ditch. During the Civil War the ditch on the west side of the town was made broader, the gates were closed at night, and a watch set from sunset to morning.

During the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament, the town was alternately occupied by both forces, and there was a great deal of street fighting, but neither party found it capable of being permanently held. When the west doors of the Minster were repaired a few years ago, several round lead bullets were taken out of them, which very probably found their billets there during the street fighting I have mentioned.

Amongst the religious orders which had houses in Beverley, were the Dominican and Franciscan friars, and the Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem, whose house was where the railway station now stands; part of its moat remains. There were, too, several hospitals, the site of one of which, St. Giles', is still known as St. Giles' Croft, and also Leper houses and Maisons de Dieu. All these have, however, disappeared except part of the Black friars with a portion of its enclosing wall; the site of its old pleasaunce still bears the suggestive title, Paradise.

With few exceptions all the old streets in Beverley are

called "gates." The prefixes have reference to the position of, or some peculiarity connected with, the street, *e.g.*, Eastgate from its position: Keldgate, the street of the the spring. Flemingate was no doubt the locus of a colony of Flemish weavers dyers or fullers who made the red cloth for which Beverley was famous.

Aldgate, or Highgate, was at one time called Londoners' Street, because the London dealers who attended the annual fairs exposed there the various wares they brought for sale, and patronised the inns which were situate in the street. Friar's Lane, now absurdly re-named Chantry Lane, led to the house of the Dominicans and their "Paradise." The Fish-market would be supplied by both sea and river. Butcher Row was peculiar to the Fleshevers. Adjoining it is Toll-gavel, which seems to be a compound name, the component parts of which have a common meaning. Lurk Lane to the south of the Minster is a corruption of Lort Lane. Mr. A. F. Leach tells me the same word designates a locality connected with Winchester College. By Butt Lane we pass from Keldgate to the locality where the archers had their practising ground. On several occasions, Beverley bowmen had to take the field.

When viewed from the Tower of St. Mary's Church, it is easy and interesting to trace the limits of mediæval Beverley, which are clearly defined by the extent of the picturesque red-tiled roofs of the winding streets, for although some of the houses have slated roofs, the former still greatly preponderate giving a sense of warmth and colour very grateful to the eye, especially when as at this time of the year the trees which grow plentifully in and around Beverley form an appropriate background.

So much more could be said on the subject, that I feel that this sketch of Beverley in the olden time is very inadequate. You will, however, I hope, excuse its shortcomings, and allow me to express a hope that your visit to Beverley may be one of the pleasantest excursions in your programme.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

July 3rd, 1895.

CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. E. PEACOCK, F.S.A., exhibited two mediæval seals and sent the following description.—“No. 1 is a bell-shaped seal of brass, found more than half a century ago in a heap of stones and rubbish at Messingham, Lincolnshire. It is of fourteenth century date, the device is two heads contemplating one another with a tree or sprig between them and the legend LOVE ME AND I THEE. A seal with a similar device is preserved in the British Museum, and there is an impression of another attached to a fourteenth century charter amongst Lord Fitzhardinge's records in the evidence house at Berkeley Castle.”

“No. 2. The matrix is of silver. It was found about twenty-five years ago near the site of Louth Park Abbey, a Lincolnshire Cistercian house. The field is occupied by a kneeling figure wearing a gown with a hood hanging down behind. The hands are uplifted and hold what seems to be a heart, above which is a bird, probably a dove. In front of the figure is a lion statant, placed sideways so that its body is parallel to that of the man. The legend is S. WILL'1. DE APTON. The first letter of the surname is partially effaced but seems to be H.”

CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., exhibited and described two curious padlocks now preserved in the Carlisle Museum. The Chancellor's paper is printed in the *Journal*, p. 250.

Mr. SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A., read a paper on “Philæ, the Nubian Valley and the Modified Reservoir.” Numerous plans and photographs were exhibited in illustration of the subject. Mr. Clarke's paper is printed at p. 240.

PROFESSOR BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on “The Antiquities of Arles,” comparing the monuments with those at Nîmes, especially indicating the resemblances and differences between them. The amphitheatre at Arles, the largest Roman building in France, was occupied by the inhabitants both as a fortress and a dwelling place when Narbonese Gaul was being ravaged by the Saracens. A photograph from an old engraving was exhibited showing the structure under these conditions. The two columns that still remain erect behind the *proscenium* are the most remarkable feature of the theatre. Their position is indicated by the row of columns at Taormina. In the cathedral of St. Trophime, the grand portal and the cloisters are the parts most deserving attention. The former is adorned with the figure of Our Lord in the tympanum, seated, crowned, raising his right hand in benediction and surrounded by evangelistic symbols.

On either side of the doors SS. Stephen and Trophimus occupy niches, whilst the four Apostles fill up the intercolumniations. The cloisters present an extraordinary variety of subjects in the capitals of the pillars, some derived from the Bible, others from ecclesiastical history. The Professor described in detail two sarcophagi of Christian times found at Arles, pointing out that many of the scenes sculptured thereon form an interesting commentary on passages in the Old and New Testaments. The Venus discovered in the ruins of the theatre is one of the finest works of Greek art now extant; the figure with the arrangement of its drapery much resembles the Townley Venus in the British Museum, whilst the face corresponds with the lineaments of Hellenic beauty that can be observed amongst the humbler Arlesiennes. No coins have been found of the Celtic period, nor of the early Roman empire, but as Arles became in the Constantine Age the capital of the Western Provinces, those of the fourth and fifth century are abundant.

Professor Lewis' paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.



INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP
OF YORK TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT
SCARBOROUGH.¹

I find myself to-day in a position of considerable perplexity. When I first accepted the kind invitation of your President that I should be chairman of this meeting I too readily supposed that it would be my duty simply to preside at a series of meetings and to listen to a number of instructive papers and speeches. I was glad to show my interest in the work of the Institute, and I looked forward to receiving a great deal of pleasant instruction on the subject of archæology. But when at a later period I learned that I was expected to give an address I was alarmed at the responsibility which I had taken upon me. I felt that I ought to listen rather than to speak, to be a learner rather than a teacher. On looking at some of the records of your proceedings in past years I found that the various presidents had spoken at considerable length on archæological subjects, and had brought before the meetings most interesting reports as to the investigations and discoveries and the progress which had been made during the previous year. Now I am bound to confess to you that of all such matters I know absolutely nothing. I fear, therefore, that you will be greatly disappointed. Archæology is one of many subjects which have always greatly attracted me, but through the long years of a busy life I have never found the time to devote myself to its study. There are other pursuits in which I have employed my scanty leisure, for I feel very strongly that in every profession, and not least in the work of the ministry, it is in the highest degree desirable that every busy man should have some one or more interests quite apart from those of his daily life. Nothing is so likely to save him from the danger and misery of becoming narrow and one-sided in his range of thought; and it also serves to bring him into relation and intercourse with other classes of his fellow men. And

¹ Delivered July 16th, 1895.

this at least I may say in commendation of archæology: that it seems admirably adapted for providing a *diversion*—I use the word in its accurate rather than its popular sense—a diversion for busy people from their daily toil and anxious cares; as well as a wholesome alternative for others whose lives are mostly spent in pleasurable employments and whose daily duties are largely regulated by the customs and demands of society. No doubt there are many subjects and pursuits which offer the promise of reasonable and delightful recreation; for, even in these matters, the competition so universal in this nineteenth century finds a place. The number of subjects and books and occupations which hold out attractions to the thoughtful and intelligent are increasing upon us from day to day. Almost every newspaper has in it some suggestive reference to matters of the deepest interest which at once arrest our attention and awaken our desire for further knowledge. But to those whose minds and hands are already full of occupation the suggestion has in it something of the torment of Tantalus; for while we thirst, we can only look from a distance at the tempting cup, without any satisfaction of our longing desire.

Some of you may possibly have known in your own experience the trial of sitting from day to day in a well-stocked library and being debarred from any further knowledge of a large number of the books than can be gathered from a study of the titles inscribed on their backs.

At an early period of my life, in the course of my reading, I stumbled upon a Latin motto which I hailed with delight and immediately inscribed on my book case, "*Humanæ sapientiæ pars est quædam æquo animo nescire velle.*" I will venture to put it into English for the sake of those who may not have heard me distinctly. "It is a part of human wisdom to be willingly ignorant of certain things, with a quiet mind." The philosopher of the sixth century, to whom we owe this maxim (he was by the way himself an archbishop), has placed me under a great obligation by this word of comfort. I have found no lack of occasions on which to apply it to my own needs, one of them has been in the matter of archæology; and I

heartily wish that some one of my learned brethren here to-day might have occupied my place, that not only you but I might have gained some profitable knowledge of those interesting matters with which your Institute is concerned. But, as this might not be, I have been thinking how I could best discharge my duty this morning; and in the course of my thoughts I began to ask myself, what is it that attracts us to this particular subject? What is it that brings so many persons together on such an occasion as this and induces them to travel by rail or by road, in sunshine or in storm, to visit objects of archæological interest? What is the source and character of the pleasure which we find in the study and the pursuits of archæology? I found myself face to face with a most interesting but difficult question, and I thought I might venture to put before you this morning some of the considerations which presented themselves to my own mind. I shall, of course, do this very simply—not in philosophical terms, but in popular language—and if you should find me dull I will at least be brief.

Archæology in its literal significance is the science of antiquity. Now at first sight we might have supposed that in this busy age men would have been sufficiently interested and occupied in what is modern; and content to let the dead past bury its dead. But this, as you know, is very far from being the case. In this the busiest age the world has ever known, and amidst the pressure and excitement of every-day life, men's thoughts still turn towards the ages of antiquity more generally and more earnestly than perhaps at any previous time.

Even in that most modern of nations—the great Republic on the other side of the Atlantic—in the midst of all the forward movement and untiring enterprise which characterises that remarkable people the interest in antiquity is growing day by day. They, too, have their archæological associations, although for the most part they have to go further afield to pursue their studies. Year by year they cross the oceans in thousands, not only to see the old country from which they sprung but to visit and admire those objects of antiquity which indeed are theirs as well as ours.

The interest in archæology is almost universal. We speak of the dead past ; but, in truth, to a thoughtful mind the past is never dead. It is not even past—it still lives on, and lives to exercise a strange and powerful fascination on all educated minds, and even in some degree on the humblest and most ignorant. What then is the meaning and nature of the impression produced upon us in contemplating such objects as you will meet throughout this week ? It is an impression quite unique and sometimes exciting, if we may judge by the expressions of delight and surprise which we frequently utter ourselves or hear from the lips of others around us. We stand face to face with some venerable building—half destroyed it may be by the ravages of time—a mere ruin crumbling to decay, and we are lost in admiration and delight. It may not retain the traces of any exceptional beauty or grandeur. It may never have been more beautiful than many modern buildings of the same character which we can behold without any emotion. But it is old. It has stood there through long centuries. And we travel a long way to see it, and hundreds make the same pilgrimage week after week.

We may say perhaps it is picturesque ; yes ! but what do we mean by this term ? We apply it to things and persons which belong to our own day, but they do not stir our feelings like the old ruin. We may call it beautiful, but wherein does its beauty lie ? There is beauty all around us for those that have eyes to see ; and it is still a question among philosophers whether the beauty which we admire belongs to the object of our admiration or is the offspring of our own brain—whether, in short, it is objective or subjective. Nor does the ancient ruin impress us merely because it is old. No, for the hills by which it is surrounded are older still ; and although we admire them in a certain way, it is not in the same way : they do not awaken in us the same kind of feeling as the broken walls and the shattered columns. Or, to take another illustration, we find in some remote spot a battered coin, bearing it may be the image and superscription of some ancient king ; we seize it eagerly, and gaze upon it fondly, and show it with delight to our friends. And why ? a new coin of the same value, in all

the freshness of its glitter and the perfection of its workmanship, would scarcely occupy our thoughts for a moment.

Or, again, in some of the excursions of a society like this you come upon arrow heads and saws of flint, or other weapons and instruments of very early civilization; or you find traces of ancient dwellings of a kind very unlike our own; or broken bits of household crockery and such like wreckage of a far off time; and you are willing to endure fatigue and toil if only they should bring you within reach of such discoveries.

Now it is not enough to say that these things are "so full of interest"; for our question is, on what does that interest depend? No doubt in many instances it is enhanced by its relation to special studies upon which we have embarked. To the student of history these relics are of great practical value, for they throw light upon the habits and pursuits of persons who lived at remote periods in our own country; or if the articles are manifestly of foreign origin, they may help us to solve the question as to the localities in which these foreigners took up their quarters, and perhaps enable us to trace the course which they followed as they penetrated into the interior, and the limits which they reached. For indeed archæology is the handmaid of history, or rather its sister, reading the records of the past, not in ancient manuscripts or early chronicles, but in the ruins and the wreckage which each succeeding generation has left behind it when it passed away. And not only the historian, but the architect, and the artist, and the mechanic, as well as the naturalist, the philologist, and the numismatist may be laid under great obligation by the investigations and researches of such a society as this.

Yet this is something quite apart from the emotional experience which we are trying to analyse—the impression received and the interest felt in the remains of antiquity—quite apart from their collateral bearing upon special pursuits. Now, in venturing to suggest any explanation of this experience, or rather to ascertain its conditions and concomitants, we are entering on an inquiry which is beset by obscurity. It may even be

beyond our reach; it is possibly "a task to which the faculties of man are inadequate." Yet the consideration of the question may not be without profit even if it issue in nothing more than guesses after the truth; and it may perhaps give some additional enjoyment to our archaeological pursuits.

When we try to examine the sensations which are produced by the contemplation of what is old, we shall find that they arise not so much from the thing itself as from ideas associated with it. If instead of an abbey, a castle, or a lake dwelling, we were to come upon a crag or a boulder which closely resembled these forms, we should certainly not be impressed in the same way. We might be interested in them from a mineralogical or geological point of view, but this interest would be of a very different kind from that which we experience in the contemplation of an ancient ruin. Or, again, if instead of a coin or an implement of some very early age, we should find merely a shapeless piece of metal or the fragment of a bone, these would no doubt have their interest for specialists but not for mankind in general, and even this interest would be of a kind wholly different. And the difference surely lies in this: that there are associations of ideas connected with the one class of objects which do not exist in the other. But, further, we shall find that these associations belong especially to the human element, so to speak, connected with either the ruin or the coin. It is this touch of nature which makes the whole world kin. As we look at the ancient castle we think, it may be almost unconsciously, of the great kings or nobles who dwelt in it centuries ago with their household and retainers; we wonder what kind of lives they led, what share they had in human joys and earthly sorrows. We imagine for ourselves the deadly struggles which have taken place beneath the castle walls: or the great festivities which have been held within. We often say, if these walls could speak, what tales they could tell! It is not the mere ruin itself which stirs our feelings, however grand or massive, or picturesque it may be. It is its human history which speaks to our hearts as we look upon its silent walls. And so again as we gaze upon the ruined abbey we cannot but remember that it was built in all its grandeur and beauty

by human hands long since laid to their rest ; and we picture to ourselves the groups or multitudes of worshippers who from generation to generation assembled within its walls, each generation in its time to pass away and to be numbered with the dead. Or once more, as we handle the primitive implement of war or peace, we are curious to imagine the circumstances and the character of those by whom it was constructed and by whom it was used in those far off days ; while the coin suggests to us the thought of the multitude of human hands through which it must have passed, and the various uses to which it was applied at some remote period in the annals of our country or perhaps of the human race. It may have formed a part of some gambling gain, or of the price of blood ; or it may have been the only store of some sad widow in the humblest rank of life.

I do not say that we are always *conscious* of such thoughts or that they equally find a place in all of us ; but I believe—indeed I feel assured—that something of them is mingled with all the impressions which we experience in gazing upon the ruins of the past.

It would appear, then, that one important factor in the emotions and impressions which we are considering is the association of these various objects with the history, the circumstances, and experiences of men and women essentially like ourselves, however different their environment may have been ; while this very difference gives an added interest to our thoughts and speculations about them. But further you will see that these results imply in every instance the exercise of one of man's noblest gifts, that of imagination. It is only by its powers that we can picture to ourselves the surroundings and the occupations of those to whom we owe these objects of interest of which I have been speaking. There is none among our heaven-born faculties that has such power to stir our utmost being or to awaken our keenest susceptibilities, nor is there any of our powers which can give so much pleasure by its exercise. And this is true not only in its exceptional operation in the poet or the painter, but in its humbler and more limited exercise—in the common ranks of humanity.

But there is yet another element which demands our

recognition. In all these remains and vestiges of the far off past there is involved a certain amount of mystery. In every case we are dealing in some degree with the unknown. There is no characteristic of mankind more universal than the fascination which he finds in contemplating the unknown. It manifests itself in earliest infancy amidst the toys and trifles of childhood; it asserts itself in the speculations of philosophy and in the meditations of the religious life; it survives to the extremest age as we peer into the darkness which lies beyond the range of mortal eyes. It is one of the most striking testimonies to our divine origin, to the *τι θεϊον* within us, to the image of God in which we were made. It reveals itself especially in the feeling of wonder which we experience in the presence of anything which transcends our understanding. It is here that our weakness and our strength, our littleness and our greatness, find a common ground. There is really nothing more wonderful than the sense of wonder as it ranges upward from the idlest curiosity to the most exalted contemplation of undiscovered truth. It has been beautifully said by an Italian poet that

“Wonder is the daughter of Ignorance and the mother of Knowledge.”

And this is no mere poetical sentiment—it is the statement of a great law which finds its operation even in the researches of the archæologist. The wonderment with which he looks upon some strange relic of the past is the stimulus to patient inquiry and the harbinger of ultimate success.

The association of ideas, particularly those connected with human history; the exercise of the imagination in realising these ideas; and the sense of wonder called forth in their contemplation—these then, as it seems to me, are some of the conditions under which we experience the pleasure which we find in connection with the study and pursuits of archæology. I do not set them before you as the settled conclusions of philosophic research, but as the unrevised results of a quiet hour of thought in the midst of a very busy life. At the best they are mere suggestions for your consideration stated in the briefest and simplest

way. They have given no little pleasure to myself in thinking them out, and I owe this to your kindness in having invited me here to-day.

It is always good for us to look within at ourselves, even when we are busy in contemplating objects which lie without and around us. For we cannot separate ourselves from them. It is by virtue of what we are that we find either pleasure or profit in them. The poet has wisely said that

“The proper study of mankind is man,”

—the proper study, not the noblest ; for there is one nobler still. And it is man, not as he appears amidst the disguises and distractions of the outer world, but in the secret chamber of his inner life ; not in his reputation, but in his character—in the “hidden man of the heart.” It is man with his manifold capacities—intellectual, moral, and spiritual ; man with his marvellous faculties of thought and will, of imagination and desire. If for a few moments I have been leading your thoughts away from the more practical work which lies before you to some faint and broken lights of our higher selves, I trust that you will forgive the unusual course I have taken. I do not think that you will the less enjoy the excursions awaiting you, in which, alas ! I am unable to take my part.

ON THE CHAP-BOOKS IN THE BIBLIOTHECA JACKSONIANA IN TULLIE HOUSE, CARLISLE.¹

By CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Halliwell, in his valuable *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, defines a Chap-book as "A little book printed for the purpose of being sold to hawkers". Slater, in his *Library Manual*, says it is "A small book or pamphlet carried about for sale by hawkers", and he instances *Last dying speeches and confessions* as familiar examples of chap-books. But it must not be supposed that chap-books are nothing but "dying speeches and confessions", or that dying speeches and confessions form a large class of chap-books; Mr. R. H. Cunningham, in his book called *Amusing Prose Chap-books*, p. 7,² divides the *Litteratura Vulgi*, or chap-books, into the following classes:—(1) Historical, (2) Biographical, (3) Religious, (4) Romantic, (5) Poetical, (6) Humorous, (7) Fabulous, (8) Supernatural, (9) Diabolical, (10) Legendary, (11) Superstitious, (12) Criminal, (13) Jest-books, etc. Of these classes Mr. Ashton³ considers the strictly religious to be the smallest in number, an opinion in which the present writer is hardly disposed to agree. Much, however, depends upon what Mr. Ashton means by "strictly religious".

Judging from the number of chap-books devoted thereto, the supernatural and the superstitious must have had great charms for readers; while old romances, handed down from days anterior to printing, had great popularity, but the poetical and the humorous had the greatest predominance. Collections of ballads or songs form an enormous class under the name of "Garlands", having generally on their title-page the words

A GARLAND
of
NEW SONGS.

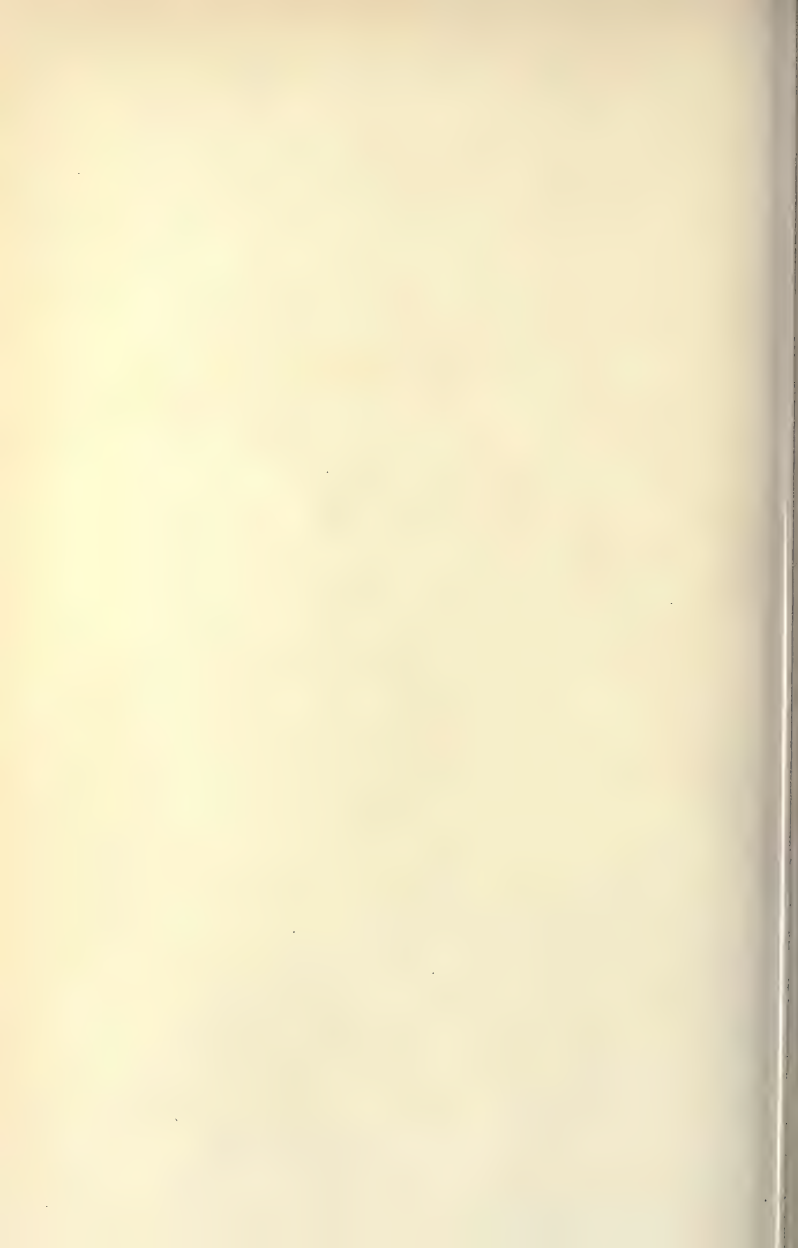
¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute May 1st, 1895.

² London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morrison, 1889.

³ *Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century*, by John Ashton. Chatto and Windus, London, 1882.



CHAP-BOOK BLOCK, FROM SOULBY'S OFFICE, PENRITH.



These "Garlands" may sometimes be dated by the inclusion therein of a song by some known writer, Dibdin, Burns, Campbells, or the local Cumberland writers, Anderson, Evan Clark, and Relph, or by a reference to some public event, such as a naval or military victory, but the imprint of a chap-book, as a rule, only says "Printed in this present year." Tales of adventure are not uncommonly the subjects of chap-books, and in a recently published list of books upon Morocco, issued by the Geographical Society it is stated that,

Up to 1820 most of our information about Morocco was derived from Christian captives, who had been taken and held in slavery of the most grinding description : many of them are of great value and extreme pathos, mostly hawked as chap-books for the benefit of the returned slave.

A writer in an American publication says :¹

The chap-book *per se* may be regarded as a later seventeenth century product. It first made its appearance as a distinct branch of a literary tree soon after the Commonwealth period, when those numerous obscure presses that had been busily disgorging floods of broadsides and pamphlets *pro* and *con* the great questions of the day, found, when these questions were settled, no other usefulness left them than to supply with lighter material that appetite for reading matter which they had excited in the masses. All manner of old and popular stories, tales, quips, jests, and facetiæ (oftentimes totally unfit for nineteenth century reading) were collected and crystallised into a cheap folk-literature, fit for the fireside and the rush-light. For disseminating this mass of popular publications no one was so well fitted as the chapman.

So much was this the case, that many of the early chap-books have as their *imprint*, "Printed for the Company of Flying Stationers", also "Walking Stationers". The chap-book is generally found printed upon a sheet of coarse grey paper, folded so as to make a little stitched book, generally of eight pages, but some extended to twenty-four pages; these were known in the trade as "twenty-fours", and gradually superseded the eight page books. Chap-books were illustrated with rude and hideous pictures printed from well-worn wood blocks, which had been used over and over again, and frequently applied to the most inappropriate subjects, Robinson

¹ Mr. Howard Pyle in *Chap-book Heroes*, printed in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. lxxxi. 1890.

Crusoe being sometimes used for the Prodigal Son.¹ Many of the blocks that are used to illustrate chap-books have previously done duty in criminal histories, in Cock Robin series, and in the Cries of various towns, such as the Cries of London, of York, of Banbury, etc. Some have done duty with black letter tracts and ballads: as, for instance, I have seen a block of the Field of Flodden, which originally appeared with an account in black letter of the fight, doing duty with a chap-book. Large stocks of these wood blocks, many of great antiquity, were passed on by descent or purchase from one jobbing printer in London or the provinces to another. Thus Mr. Edwin Pearson writes:—

In 1708 John White, a citizen of York, established himself as a printer in Newcastle-on-Tyne, bringing with him a stock of quaint old cuts, formerly his father's at York, when he was sole printer to King William, for the five northern counties of England. He entered into partnership with Thomas Saint, who on the death of John White, at their printing office in Pilgrim Street, succeeded in 1796 (*sic*)² to his extensive business as printer, bookseller and publisher. In this stock of wood cuts were some of the veritable pieces of wood engraved or cut for Caxton, Wynken de Worde, Pynson, and others down to Tommy Gent—the curious genius, historian, author, poet, wood cutter and engineer, binder and printer of York. . . . Thomas Saint about 1770, had the honour of introducing to the public, the brothers Thomas and John Bewick's first efforts in wood engravings, early and crude as they undoubtedly were. They are to be found in *Hutton on Mensuration*, and also in various children's and juvenile works, such as *Æsop's* and *Gay's* fables.³

¹ In a collection of chap-books with the imprint of "Glasgow; printed for the booksellers", we have found the same block, a divine in black gown, bands and wig, doing duty as "the Rev. John Welch, minister of the Gospel at Ayr," as "Thomas Wilcocks, author of *Choice Drops of Honey from the Rock Christ*, as "Donald Cargill, who was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 26th July, 1680," as Dr. Isaac Watts, and as Mahomet! After this one is not surprised to find in the same collection that William the Conqueror and William Wallace are represented by the same portrait, and that Dick Turpin, the famous highwayman, is dressed in the garb of a Turk, loose jacket, drawers and turban, and is armed with a scimitar.

² White died 1769. See *Halliwel's Fugitive Tracts and Chap-books*, Vol. xxix. Percy Society, p. 77.

³ *Banbury Chap-books and Nursery Toy Book Literature of the 18th and early 19th centuries*, by Edwin Pearson. London: Arthur Reader, 1, Orange Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., 1890. The date 1796 in the quotation must be a misprint for some date anterior to 1770. For the history of printing in Newcastle prior to the establishment of John White see two articles in the *Archæologia Aeliana*, second series, vol. vi. p. 225, by J. Hodgson Hinde, and vol. vii. p. 271, by James Clepham. From about 1666 to 1708 there was no resident printer in Newcastle.

The Bewicks also did cuts for other printers of chap-books, and for Newbery's series of *Little Chap-books for Masters and Misses*, such as *Goody Two Shoes*, and *Tommy Trip*, both of which were written by Goldsmith.¹

The principal factory for them (chap-books) and from which nine-tenths of them emanated, was No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard, afterwards removed to Bow Churchyard, close by. The names of the proprietors were William and Cluen Dicey—afterwards C. Dicey only—and they seem to have come from Northampton,² sain *Hippolito and Dorinda* 1720, the firm is described as Raikes and Dicey, Northampton. . . . From Dicey's house came nearly all the original chap-books. . . . Unscrupulous booksellers, however, generally pirated them very soon after issue, especially at Newcastle, where certainly the next largest trade was done in this class of books. The Newcastle editions are rougher in every way—in engravings, type and paper—than the very well-got-up little books of Dicey's. . . . After the commencement of the present century reading became more popular, and the following, which are only the names of a few places where chap-books were published, shows the great and widely spread interest taken in their production:—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock, Penrith, Stirling, Falkirk, Dublin, York, Stokesley, Warrington, Liverpool, Banbury, Aylesbury, Durham, Dumfries, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Whitehaven, Carlisle, Worcester, Cirencester, &c. And they flourished, for they formed nearly the sole literature of the poor, until the *Penny Magazine* and Chambers' penny tracts and miscellanies gave them their death blow, and relegated them to the book-shelves of collectors.³

The "Garlands" were run out of the market by the competition of the Pinners-up and Long-song sellers. The Pinners-up used to take possession of dead walls, or the fronts of unoccupied houses, on which to affix their wares, consisting of yard long slips of new and popular songs, three slips a penny, while inside a huge open gingham umbrella they displayed a lot of cheap engravings. The Long-song sellers pasted three yards of songs together, and carried their wares about suspended from the top of a tall pole, crying "Three yards a penny, songs, beautiful songs, nooest songs".⁴

Akin to chap-books and distributed in the same manner

¹ *Banbury Chap-books and Nursery Toy Book*, &c., pp. 2 and 30.

² This was certainly so; in the British Museum is a unique specimen of a Northamptonshire chap-book; it is *The Life of Jonathan Wilde, Thief Taker General of Great Britain and Ireland*, and the imprint is "Northamp-

ton; Printed by W. Dicey, 1725"; see *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*.

³ *Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century*, by John Ashton. London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1882, p. 9.

⁴ See an article by G. A. Sala, *Street Ballads of the Past*, in the *Daily Telegraph*, 1894.

by chapmen, were horn-books and battledores. The original horn-book was,

A single leaf containing on one side the alphabet large and small,¹ in black letter and in Roman, with perhaps a small regiment of monosyllables, and a copy of the Lord's Prayer, and this leaf was usually set in a frame of wood, with a slice of diaphanous horn in front, hence the name *horn book*. Generally there was a handle to hold it by, and this handle had usually a hole for a string, whereby the apparatus was slung to the girdle of the scholar.²

Shenstone alludes to the horn-book in his poem of *The Schoolmistress*:

Their books of stature small they take in hand,
Which with pellucid horn secured are
To save from fingers wet the letters fair.

From their shape they were also known as battledores. A child is represented as holding one, on the brass to Bishop Robinson (he died in 1616) which is in duplicate—in his cathedral at Carlisle and in Queen's College, Oxford, of which he had been Provost. These horn-books and battledores were superseded by little books, like chap-books, and hawked about by chapmen. To these books the names of horn-books and battledores came to be transferred, and by these names continued to be known long after their original form and shape, and so the reasons of their names, had been forgotten. They were also called *absies* (A.B.C.'s) and their contents were increased by the addition of graces before and after meat, of morning and evening prayers, prayers for relations, and such like matter: they came to be stitched in gaudy Dutch papers of flower and fruit designs, and to command the large price of four-pence and six-pence.³

The horn-book in its original form seems to have flourished down to the time of George II. Numerous as they must have been, copies are now most rare.⁴

¹ The alphabet was generally preceded by a cross, whence it was called the Christ Cross Row, or Criss Cross Row, a term which was often used instead of horn book.

² *The Book of Days*, Chambers, vol. i. pp. 46, 47. *British Archaeological Journal*, vol. ix. pp. 72 and 73, illustrations.

³ In the manuscript account books of the Archer family, quoted by Mr. Halliwell in his elaborate work on

Shakespeare, occurs this entry: "Jan. 3, 1715-16, one horn book for Mr. Eyres, 00:00:02." *The Book of Days*, *ut ante*.

⁴ Horn-books were also made of gingerbread:

To Master John, the English maid
A *horn-book* gives of gingerbread,
And that the child may know the better,
As he can name, he eats the letter.

Prior, *Alma*.

But if chapmen carried about horn-books and battledores from which children could be taught their letters and their prayers, they also carried about lottery papers, which would teach them to gamble: two lottery papers are in the *Bibliotheca Jacksoniana*. These consist of sheets of small pictures, which were cut up by children and gambled for in some way which I do not understand, the currency employed being pins, then more valuable than at the present day.

It is foreign to our purpose to go fully into the general history of chap-books, and their relations, the horn-books, and the battledores. We merely purpose to give a few examples of various classes, selected from the collection of chap-books in the *Bibliotheca Jacksoniana* in Tullie House, Carlisle, reserving a full account thereof for the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.¹ This collection of chap-books was formed by the late Mr. W. Jackson, F.S.A., of Fleatham House, St. Bees, and was part of the *Bibliotheca Jacksoniana*, from which, after Mr. Jackson's death, it got accidentally severed, but to which it was restored through the kindness of a much interested friend.

The collection consists of 180 chap-books, issued from the various presses as follows:—

Carlisle	...	...	...	...	14
Whitehaven	...	...	...	...	17
Penrith	...	...	...	...	66
Cumberland	...	...	...	...	1
Workington	...	...	...	...	2
Wigton	...	...	...	...	1
Egremont	...	...	...	...	1
Alston	...	...	...	...	10
Kendal	...	...	...	...	2
Ulverston	...	...	...	...	3
Lancaster	...	...	...	...	2
Newcastle	...	...	...	...	4
Edinburgh	...	...	...	...	1
Falkirk	...	...	...	...	1
Kilmarnock	...	...	...	...	3
London	...	...	...	...	5
Derby	...	...	...	...	1
No place of printing given	...	...	...	...	40
Glasgow	...	...	...	...	6

¹ See vol. xiv. pp. 1-120.

The *Bibliotheca Jacksoniana* also possesses a collection of ninety-one chap-books, made by the late Mr. George Coward of Carlisle, and purchased at the sale of his library in November 1894. They are in brilliant condition, nearly all being uncut, and apparently never having been sold. Of these thirty-eight were printed at Newcastle-on-Tyne, all of them but two, by J. Marshall, in the Old Flesh Market: one of the exceptions is by "Angus, printer, Side, Newcastle"; the other, the history of *The Lambton Worm*, is by "W. R. Walker, Royal Arcade, Newcastle". The others are as follows:—

- 1. Printed at Morpeth by R. Blair.
- 1. Printed at Durham by G. Walker, junior.
- 1. Printed at Lancaster by C. Clark.
- 1. Printed and sold by W. and T. Fordyce, Newcastle and Hull; and J. Whinham and Co., 66, Scotch Street, Carlisle.

This is a local¹ chap-book and contains the *Remarkable and Memorable History of Sir Robert Bewick and Laird Graham*, of which the scene is laid at Carlisle.

- 34. Glasgow, printed by the booksellers.
- 1. No imprint.
- 8. Edinburgh, printed for the booksellers.
- 1. Stirling, printed for the booksellers.
- 4. Tain, printed for the booksellers.
- 1. London.

CLASS I.

EXAMPLES OF GARLANDS OR COLLECTIONS OF SONGS AND BALLADS.

"A

GARLAND

OF

NEW SONGS

CONTAINING

The Perjured Maid.

A Song in praise of Free-Masonry.

The Dublin Baker.

Jem of Aberdeen."

¹ By "local" in this paper, Cumberland or Westmorland, or some place those two counties, is meant.

Woodcut.—A large fly on a small table. This fly is from an early “Cock Robin” series: a similar one is attributed to Bewick, see Banbury Chap-books; p. 20.

Imprint.—

“CARLISLE.

Printed and Sold in Scotch Street.”

The first song has some local character; it mentions Maryport, Great Browton, and the parson of the parish, Mr. Bell. John Bell was vicar of Bridekirk, in which parish is Great Broughton, from 1755 to 1795. The perjured maid was one Jane White, of Maryport, who jilted a sailor, named Jimmy, for a sea-captain. The Dublin Baker is a highwayman under sentence of death.

“FOUR NEW
SONGS.

- I. A new Song, Briton's Lamentation.
- II. Oxtor my Laddy so Lang.
- III. The Banks of Roses.
- IV. The Bay of Biscay, O.”

Woodcut.—A gentleman in maccaroni wig, and with three-cornered hat in hand, and a lady in a sacque with a fan and a gipsy hat.

Imprint.—

“CARLISLE.

Printed and sold in Scotch Street.”

Briton's Lamentation refers to the War in America.

“AN EXCELLENT
GARLAND

CONTAINING THREE
CHOICE SONGS.

1. Westmorland Lass.
2. Roger the Miller.
3. The Highland Man's Song in praise of his Maggy, or the Bannocks of Barley Meal.”

No Woodcut.

Imprint.—

“CARLISLE.

Printed by F. JOLLIE at the new printing office, Scotch Street.”

“THE
DUKE OF GORDON’S
THREE
DAUGHTERS

To which are added :
John Uproar’s Chant.
The Shepherd’s Complaint.
Let Phillis be mine.”

Woodcut.—An interior from a much worn block ; two men in wigs and pigtails, and two women in mobcaps, sitting over a fire. It has no apparent connection with anything in the chap-book.

Imprint.—

“CARLISLE: Printed in Scotch Street, 17—”

The hiatus in the date, is caused by the corner of the page being worn away, but an approximate date may be got from “John Uproar’s Chant,” which is a dialogue between a recruiting sergeant trying to raise recruits for the war in America, and a countryman, who takes the part of the Bostonians. This Chant is not likely to have been long popular, and we may refer its date, and so the date of the chap-book, to soon after the outbreak in Boston, say 1775 or 1776. “The Duke of Gordon’s Three Daughters,” is a favourite chap-book ballad, giving the story of how Jean Gordon married, against the Duke’s will, one Captain Ogilvie: for his presumption Ogilvie was reduced to the ranks, but afterwards succeeded as Earl of Northumberland.

“A
GARLAND
CONTAINING THREE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS.

- I. The Indifferent Lover.
- II. Thurot’s Defeat.
- III. A New Song.”

Woodcut.—A lady and gentleman at dinner: a servant stands behind the lady and a dumb waiter is at her side. Tail piece, a butterfly.

Imprint.—

“Carlisle: Printed by W. HODGSON.”

The date of Thurot’s defeat is 1760; see Hume and Smollett’s *History of England*, vol. xiii. p. 215. It was made the subject of rejoicing carried to absurdity, and was long remembered and talked about. Forty-four years after it happened Lord Nelson wrote of Captain Elliot who defeated Thurot, “His action with Thurot will stand the test with any of our modern victories”. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

“ A
COLLECTION
OF
NEW SONGS

viz :

1. The loss of the Centaur.
2. The Rambling Boy.
3. On the Supplementary Militia.
4. Allen's Return.”

Woodcut.—A gentleman and lady in conversation. The lady wears the Fontange or Commode-head dress, which was in vogue in the latter part of the reign of William III and Queen Anne. The block itself may be of that date, or a copy from one of that date.

Imprint.—

“ A. BELL, PENRITH.”

The Centaur, 74 guns, foundered on her passage from Jamaica. Captain Inglefield and eleven only of the crew saved, Sept. 21, 1782. The Act for raising the Supplementary Militia was passed in 1796 and the men called out in 1798.

“ NEW
SONGS.

The Crafty Maid.
The Young Man's Dream.
My Nanie O.
William and Phoebe.”

Woodcut.—A woman with a basket on her head, very like one of the figures in “The Cries of York . . . printed by T. Kendrew, Collier Gate, York”. The figures in the Cries of York were early and prentice work of the Bewick school and were afterwards used in “The Banbury Cries”, see Banbury Chap-books, p. 47. The woodcut on this chap-book is in all probability from the Bewick studio—the main difference between it and the figure in York Cries being the pattern on the basket.

Imprint.—

“ PENRITH : Printed by A. Bell, 1804.”

“ NEW
SONGS.

1. The Ploughboy.
2. The Rambling Boys of Pleasure.
3. Bonaparte and Talleyrand.
4. The Corsican Fairy.”

Woodcut.—A figure in tail coat and knee breeches leaning on a pedestal, on which is a funeral urn.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH: Printed by Ann Bell, 1804.”

CLASS II.

EXAMPLES OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CHAP-BOOKS.

“A TRUE AND FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF THE MANNER OF CHRIST’S coming to JUDGEMENT On the LAST DAY.

Shewing in what Manner the Dead shall be raised with a particular Account of the glorious Reward of the Righteous, and likewise the Torments to the Wicked and Evil Doers.”

Woodcut.—A very rude one of the Resurrection; our Saviour, nimbed, is seated on a rainbow with his feet on the clouds, and his hands open, palms to the front. The sun and moon are on either side of him, and below are two cherubims; at the bottom the dead rise naked from their graves.

The imprint.—

“CARLISLE: Printed in the year 1770.”

This booklet of eight pages is by way of question and answer, of which the following are samples:—

“Q. Who will dread the coming of Christ?

A. The murderer, who slew his brother; the adulterer who satisfied his lust with beauty; the swearers who open the wounds of Christ; and the drunkards who drink their bodies health while they ruin the soul.

Q. And what comfort shall such offenders find at the day of judgment?

A. Sad comfort shall they have when sentence of condemnation is passed upon them, then shall the murderer be for execution, and buried in the hottest pit in hell. The adulterer shall satisfy his lust when he lies on a bed of fire. The drunkard has enough of drink when scalding lead is poured down his throat. The swearer has enough of wounds and blood tortured (*sic*) his body and soul in flames.”

The cut is from a very worn block, which might almost be mediæval; it fits the subject of the chat-book excellently, indeed one of the answers is "Jesus Christ cometh in a terrible manner, for he rides upon the wings of the wind, his seat is a rainbow, and the clouds his foot-stool". We find this block afterwards in the hands of Francis Jollie, jr., at Penrith.

"TWO TRUE AND REMARKABLE
STORIES.

PATIENT JOE,
OR THE AWFUL DEATH OF
TIM JENKINS.

THE
POWER OF CONSCIENCE."

Woodcut.—St. George and the Dragon.

Imprint.—

"Carlisle: Printed by F. Jollie and Sons."

Patient Joe, is a story of a pious Derbyshire collier, who always considered that everything was for the best. The Power of Conscience is a tale of a servant.

"THE HISTORY OF
JOSEPH
AND HIS
BRETHREN
WITH
JACOB'S JOURNEY INTO EGYPT
AND HIS
DEATH AND FUNERAL."

Woodcut.—Two standing figures, one with a staff.

Imprint.—

"WHITEHAVEN

Printed and sold by J. BRISCOE.

Price One Penny."

This is a long doggerel poem, which is printed in Ashton's book from a copy with numerous cuts. Briscoe's edition has none but the one on the title page, but it has at the end.

“THE
SOLILIQUEY [*sic*]
OF
ABRAHAM
UPON RECEIVING
THE COMMAND TO SACRIFICE
HIS
SON ISAAC”

The Woodcut.—The Roman soldiers at the empty tomb, over which is an angel.

“THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
MRS. JANE SHORE
CONCUBINE TO
KING EDWARD IV.”

Woodcuts.—On title page is a cut representing a yard or a bakehouse. There are two cuts in the text, one a lady, Jane Shore, in a coach, and the other a ghastly shrouded female figure in a coffin.

Imprint.—

“WHITEHAVEN

Printed and sold by J. BRISCOE, in the Market Place.”

A favourite subject for a chap-book, it having a moral ending in Jane Shore's unhappy death, see Ashton, p. 393.

“THE
WANDERING JEW,
OR THE
SHOEMAKER OF JERUSALEM.

Who lived when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was crucified; and appointed by him to live till he comes again. Together with his Travels, manner of living and what he has seen. To which is added, his true description of Christ.”

Woodcut.—A man with bundle on a stick, standing outside of a cottage.

Imprint.—

WHITEHAVEN

Printed and sold by T. WILSON, King Street."

The Wandering Jew is also a favourite chap-book subject, of which there is another edition in the Collection.

"THE DANGER OF EVIL COMPANY.

'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.'

No woodcut.

Imprint.—

" WHITEHAVEN

Printed by T. NICHOLSON, Roper Street, 1856."

"THE NEW GAME OF CARDS, OR A PACK OF CARDS

Changed into complete and perpetual
ALMANACK

In a Dialogue between a
NOBLEMAN and his SERVANT.

First, showing the use of an Almanack by the Quarter :—
Secondly, showing the Weeks and Days of the Year :—
And thirdly, showing the exact Number of Hours and Minutes in a year—Fourthly, showing how it may be converted into a Prayer Book, with curious Remarks on the Knave. The whole adapted to the Entertainment of the Humourous, as well as to the Satisfaction of the Grave, Learned and Ingenious. The like never before published."

Woodblock.—A swan to the left, probably a Bewick block.

Imprint.—

" A. Bell, printer, Penrith, 1797."

“CHRIST’S CARE OF HIS PEOPLE
UNDER
AFFLICTING DISPENSATIONS.

TWO
SERMONS
PREACHED

On the Seventeenth Day of August, 1662.
FROM MATTHEW XIV. 24, 25, 26.

BY
MR. WILLIAM GUTHRIE.
AUTHOR OF
“The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ”
and
Minister of the Gospel at Finnick.

Psalm CXXV. 1.

*They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, which
cannot be moved, but abideth for ever.*

Psalm CXXXVIII. 17.

*Though I walk in the midst of Trouble, thou wilt revive
me.”*

*No woodcut.
Imprint.—*

“PENRITH

Printed and sold by Ann Bell.
1804.”

Twenty-four pages. William Guthrie was a Scotch Presbyterian divine 1620 to 1665. He had a call to Fenwick (or New Kilmarnock), and from his manner was frequently called the “Fool of Fenwick” even on the title page of some of his sermons. His notice of him and a list of his writings is in the *National Dictionary of Biography*.

“THE
SINNER’S
REDEMPTION.

Wherein is discovered The Nativity of our Blessed Lord and Saviour, JESUS CHRIST, Together with his

Life on Earth, and Death upon the Cross, for lost mankind."

Woodblock.—Head of a pope, triple tiara and pastoral staff.
Imprint.—

"PENRITH: printed and sold by ANN BELL."

"BRITAIN'S
TIMELY REMEMBRANCER,
OR A
WARNING FROM HEAVEN
TO
VILE SINNERS ON EARTH.
BEING

MR. BRIGHTLY'S last SERMON which
he preached in his shroud, and died immediately after he
concluded the same.

To which is Added

An account of the holy life of Mr. R. Brightly, Minister of Waltham in Leicestershire, and of his daily walking with God. Of the care he took of his Parishioners. during their visitation with many malignant distempers. How he was praying one night at his chamber window, he fell into a trance, and saw the state of the damned in everlasting torments, and that of the blessed in celestial glory,—Of his being warned of death by an Angel: he afterwards bought a shroud and coffin, his grave to be made, and invited his Parishioners to attend his last sermon—When he declared his vision, how he saw Death, and of the message he had given him to warn the inhabitants of the earth from the wrath to come. Of his dying in the pulpit when he had delivered his sermon. And lastly of his burial, and the harmonious music that was heard in the air during his interment."

Woodcut.—None.
Imprint.—

"PENRITH.

Printed and sold by ANN BELL in the Market Place."

This chap-book is given by Halliwell in his "Fugitive Tracts and chap-books," vol. 29, Percy Society.

“THE
AGE OF MAN
OR
MAN'S BEGINNING AND LAST END,
DESCRIBED IN THE CHARACTER OF
LIFE AND DEATH,

Setting Forth
The Uncertainty and Brevity of Man's Life.

Also, many serious and awaking considerations to careless Souls, to prepare for the last enemy Death.

Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee.
Luke XII.—20.”

Woodcut.—None.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH, printed and sold by A. Bell.”

“A
KEY
TO OPEN
HEAVEN'S GATE,
OR, A READY
PATH-WAY
TO
HEAVEN.

BY LAWRENCE PRICE.

Come ye blessed of my Father, receive a Crown and Kingdom of Glory, which was prepared for you from the Beginning.”

Woodcut.—None.

Imprint.—

“Printed by ANN BELL, PENRITH.”

“A
WONDERFUL CONTRACT
NOW BEGUN
BETWEEN TWO PARTIES OF GREAT RENOWN;
JEHOVAH the BRIDEGROOM
AND
HIS CHURCH THE BRIDE.

This I compos'd in dead of night,
While on my bed I did reflect;
And who inclines to read these lines,
My advice will not neglect.”

Woodcut.—A small ornament.

Imprint.—

“Printed by A. BELL, PENRITH.”

A long poem.

“DEATH'S WARRANT;
OR THE
SOUL'S WELCOME
TO
GLORY.
WRITTEN BY
JOHN BROWN.

A young man in Hexham, on his Deathbed, and sung
at his Funeral, at his own Request.

To which is added
THE LIFE OF THE
HAPPY MAN.”

Woodcut.—None.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH: printed by A. BELL.”

“ HEAVENLY REST
 FOR A
 WEARY SOUL
 OR, THE
 PILGRIM AT HIS JOURNEY’S END
 BEING
 THE LAST LEGACY OF A FATHER TO HIS
 CHILDREN, WHEN ON HIS DEATH-BED
 TO WHICH IS ADDED

- I. The Children’s Duty to God, their Mother and Themselves.
- II. A Copy of Verses, written by the Father, a little before his Death.
- III. Some Godly Meditations.
- IV. The Father’s last gift to his children.

By the Rev. JOHN BUNYAN.”

Very pleasant to read, profitable to practise, and of Excellent Use to all Sorts of People, that desire to live a godly life in this present World.

Woodcut.—None.

Imprint.—

“ PENRITH : Printed and Sold by Ann Bell.”

“ AN
 ADDRESS
 TO
 PARENTS, &c.

Shepherd of souls with pitying eye
 The thousands of our Israel see
 To thee in their behalf we cry,
 Ourselves but newly found in Thee
 We tremble at the danger near,
 And crowds of wretched parents see ;
 Who blindly fond, their children rear
 In Tempers far as Hell’s from Thee.”

Woodcut.—Figure of Time with scythe and hour-glass. Above a mason's level, and below another and a pair of compasses.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH.

Printed by Anthony Soulby.

In the Market Place.”

“THE
PARENTS' PIOUS GIFT
OR
A CHOICE PRESENT FOR CHILDREN
SET FORTH IN
A DIALOGUE between a RELIGIOUS FATHER, and
an EXTRAVAGANT SON.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A HYMN on the DAY OF JUDGMENT.”

Woodblock.—The last judgment from Carlisle chap-book of 1770.

Imprint.—

“Printed at the New Printing Office, PENRITH.”

“THE
AFFECTING HISTORY
OF
SALLY WILLIAMS
AFTERWARDS CALLED
TIPLING SALLY.

Shewing how she left her father's house to follow an Officer, who seduced her, and how she took to drinking, and at last became a vile Prostitute, died in an Hospital, and was dissected by the Surgeons.

TENDING TO SHEW THE PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF
DRAM DRINKING.”

Woodcut.—None.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH.

Printed by F. JOLLIE, Junr.

Of whom may be had Moral and Religious Tracts.

(Price one penny.)”

“THE SINNER
DIRECTED TO
THE SAVIOUR
(*An Extract from Favel.*)”

Woodcut.—The Crucifixion.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH.
PRINTED BY J. ALLISON.

Of whom may be had

A large and general Assortment of Religious Patters, Children's Books, Histories, &c., &c.

PRICE ONE PENNY.”

“THE
PRODIGAL SON
IN VERSE.

Shewing how a young gentleman spent his money in riotous living, and was afterwards reduced to feed Swine, when being almost starved, he returned to his father, who kindly received him, and made a great feast on the occasion.”

Woodblock.—A figure in a landscape, apparently mopping his head.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH
PRINTED BY J. ALLISON.

Of whom may be had

A large and general Assortment of Religious Patters, Children's Books, Histories, etc., etc.

PRICE ONE PENNY.”

“THE
 PIOUS HERMIT
 OR
Mysterious Providences Unriddl'd.
 TO WHICH IS ADDED
 THE CHARACTER OF CHRIST.”

Woodcut.—A figure in gown and round cap, like a doctor of law, and with something like a turnip in his hand, is apparently going to feed a reclining stag.

Imprint.—As on last.

“THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 WILLIAM BLACK
 A CHIMNEY SWEEPER.”

Woodcut.—A figure in black looking at a funeral urn on a pedestal.

Imprint.—As on last two.

UNHAPPY BIRTH,
 WICKED LIFE, AND MISERABLE DEATH OF
 THAT VILE TRAITOR AND APOSTLE
 JUDAS ISCARIOT

Who killed his reputed brother, murdered his own father and married his own mother ; and for thirty pieces of silver betrayed his most sacred Lord and Master JESUS CHRIST.”

Woodblock.—None.

Imprint.—None.

“HYMNS
 AND
 SPIRITUAL (*sic*) SONGS.”

Woodblock.—A man in full bottomed wig and full skirted coat.

Imprint.—None.

But in the place usually occupied by it is:

"This Author of this, Erix Arglestom in Swedish, and Alexander Johnson in English, was born in Stockholm, the metropolis of Sweden."

The inner leaves of this chap-book of eight pages are lost, but the first hymn is headed "Christ's Sufferings in his Birth," and the last must be, judging from what remains, "Christ's Sufferings in his Death."

"GOD'S DREADFUL JUDGEMENT
ON
WICKED, CRUEL AND DISOBEDIENT CHILDREN
TO THEIR
PARENTS.

Shewing how a farmer of Exeter reduced himself to extreme poverty in order to advance his son by marrying a lady of fortune; how the son having accomplished his Design, disdained his father and mother, who soon after died with grief. Also the miserable death of this undutiful wretch."

Woodblock.—Head of a divine.

Imprint.—

"Newcastle, Printed in the Present year."

CLASS III.

EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL CHAP-BOOKS.

"THE FAMOUS AND RENOWNED
HISTORY
OF THE MEMORABLE, BUT UNHAPPY HUNTING OF
CHEVY CHACE
NEAR THE
RIVER TWEED IN SCOTLAND
TOGETHER

With the great and mortal battle fought between the lord PIERCY Earl of Northumberland, and his fifteen hundred English Archers, and Earl DOUGLAS with twenty hundred Scottish spearmen: in which both these Earls, with most of their men were slain."

Woodcuts.—On title page half length of man in armour and full bottomed wig, star on breast and baton in right hand; qu: Marlborough: two cuts of modern sport, namely horseman and dogs chasing a deer, and a gunner with dead hare and a dog: also two or three cuts from J. Dunn's Tom Hickathrift, notably the ballet of six men in armour: see Class VII.

Imprint.—

“WHITEHAVEN

Printed by ANN DUNN, Market Place.”

This is a prose, not a poetical account of the celebrated hunting.

“CHEVY CHACE'S
GARLAND

Or, an unhappy memorable
OLD SONG.

Shewing the Hunting of Chevy Chace, between the
Earl Piercy of England, and Earl Douglas of
Scotland.”

Woodblock.—Two horsemen, like fox-hunters of last century, and a huntsman on foot with horn and leaping pole, and three dogs pursue a hare. In background a house, and a female figure with a shield, and a flail: qu: a quintain? qu: a female with spinning wheel and distaff? A similar wood cut is in Charnley.

Imprint.—

“Licensed and Entered according to Order.”

“An Excellent
NEW SONG

Called

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

Or

THE VICTORY AND DEATH OF
LORD NELSON.

Never before published

To which are added

TROTTING ALONG THE ROAD
AND A

Song for the WEDDING NIGHT”

Woodcut (small).—A ship.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH:

Printed and Sold by A. Soulby.”

“THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
FAIR ROSAMOND.
Concubine to King Henry the Second.”

Woodcut—A lady and gentleman, each with a fan, she in a huge hoop and sacque.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH:

PRINTED BY F. ALLISON.

Of whom may be had

A large and general Assortment of Religious Patters, Children's Books, Histories, &c.”

CLASS IV.

CHAP-BOOKS OF ADVENTURE.

“THE
LIFE
AND
SURPRISING ADVENTURES
OF
FREDERICK BARON TRENCK,
CORRECTED AND ABRIDGED
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A SHORT SUPPLEMENT:

Giving an authentic account of his more recent Transactions, till he fell a victim to the prevailing system of Anarchy in France, being sentenced to the Guillotine by the French Convention.”

Woodcut.—A cavalier in full bottomed wig on horseback; his hat has fallen off.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH:

Printed by Ann Bell.”

“CRAWFORD’S TRACTS
No. 1.
THE
NEGRO SERVANT.
AN
AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE
OF A
YOUNG NEGRO
Shewing

How he was made a slave in Africa, and carried to Jamaica, where he was sold to a Captain in His Majesty’s Navy, and taken to America, where he became a Christian; and afterwards brought to England and baptized.”

Woodblock.—A kneeling negro in chains.
Imprint.—

“KILMARNOCK.
PRINTED BY H. CRAWFORD.”

“THE BRAVE
BRITISH TAR
OR

The true history of a sailor who had both his legs shot off in Lord Duncan’s Victory, with an account of his extraordinary dream, and how remarkably it was fulfilled.”

Woodblock.—A brigantine: probably by Bewick.
Imprint.—

“KENDAL.
M. and R. BRANTHWAITE, PRINTERS.”

A pious tract; converted Sailor.

“THE HISTORY
OF
HONEST JACK
THE SAILOR

“We should think of the world that’s to come, honest
Jack

When in this we’re so pain’d and perplex’d.”

“O no! this world for me, for I don’t know, you see,
At all what to think of the next.”

Woodblock.—A scene on a quay; probably a Bewick block.
Imprint.—

“KENDAL.

Printed by M. and R. Branthwaite.”

THE
UNFORTUNATE SHIPWRIGHT
OR
CRUEL CAPTAIN
BEING A
FAITHFUL NARRATIVE
of the Unparalleled Sufferings
of
ROBERT BARKER

Late carpenter on board the *Thetis Snow*, of Bristol,
on a Voyage from thence to the coast of Guinea and
Antigua.”

Woodblock.—None.
Imprint.—

“LONDON.

Printed for and sold by the SUFFERER for his own Benefit, and
by no one else, 1775.

(Price 8*d.* or 4*d.* each part.)”

There are thirty-eight pages to this chap-book, and have been more.
It has a full page portrait of the sufferer in his prime, standing on a
quay, and viewing a two-masted vessel, intended for the *Thetis*
Snow.

"THE
 LIFE,
 VOYAGES, AND SEA BATTLES
 OF
 THAT CELEBRATED SEAMAN
 COMMODORE
 PAUL JONES,
 Still remembered
 By some of the Old Inhabitants
 Now living at Wapping,
 He being originally in the coal trade,
 In which is contained
 A variety of important facts
 Displaying the
 Revolutions of Fortune that this Naval Adventurer
 underwent.

DERBY
 PUBLISHED BY THOMAS RICHARDSON
 SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO., LONDON.
 PRICE SIXPENCE."

This booklet has a brilliantly coloured folding picture, giving scenes in the life of Paul Jones. It has twenty-four pages, and is rather more than a chap-book.

CLASS V.
 ROMANTIC OR POETICAL CHAP-BOOKS.

"HISTORY
 OF
 DORASTUS AND FAUNIA
 SETTING FORTH THEIR
 LOVES, MISFORTUNES AND HAPPY
 ENJOYMENT OF EACH OTHER
 AT LAST."

Woodcuts.—On the title page a hideous angel with outstretched arms stands before three seated figures engaged in animated conver-

sation. In the text are several other cuts, as head and tail pieces to chapters:—a bird (*qu.* a parrot) on a stump, a ship under sail; a post-boy on horseback blowing a horn, and galloping to the right; an interior, five seated figures, two males, three females; block too worn for details of costume to be made out; another post-boy on horse-back with large valise behind him, galloping to the left; a sheep; John Gilpin galloping past the Bell at Edmonton; a horse soldier of the last century in three-cornered hat and jack boots; and another bird (*qu.* a thrush). The two birds and the sheep may have come from some pictorial alphabet; or the birds from a cock robin series; the second postboy is a copy, probably by an apprentice, of a Bewick block, see Banbury Chap-books.

Imprint.—

“CARLISLE, PRINTED BY F. JOLLIE.”

The chap-book of twenty four pages is a romance, the history of how Pandosta, King of Bohemia, was jealous of Bellaria, his Queen and Egistus, King of Sicily; the crimes he consequently committed, and the happy union at last of his daughter Faunia, with Dorastus, son of Egistus. One fails to see the connection of John Gilpin with the story, but as “John Gilpin” was written by Cowper in 1782, this chap-book cannot have been printed earlier, and was probably printed much later, say about 1800.

“THE CONSTANT LOVERS

GARLAND,

IN FOUR PARTS.

- PART I. Shewing how beautiful Nancy of Yarmouth
fell in Love with Jemmy the Sailor.
PART II. How the Father convey'd a Letter to destroy
young Jemmy his Daughter's Sweetheart.
PART III. How the Ghost of young Jemmy the Sailor
appeared to Beautiful Nancy.
PART IV. How the Ghosts of these two unfortunate
Lovers appeared to the Boatswain, and he
being tried, was hanged at the Yardarm.”

Woodcut.—A male figure seated under a tree, while a female figure stands by and harangues him.

Imprint.—

“WHITEHAVEN.

Printed in the year MDCCLXXX.”

A long and dismal ballad, the nature of which is well explained in the title: but its popularity is proved by the number of printers that included it in their chap-books.

“ A
NEW SONG
CALLED
SWEET WILLIAM
OF
PLYMOUTH.”

Woodcut.—A very rude cut of an action between a fort on a cliff and two men of war. The fort flies a standard with a plain cross next to the staff and may be intended for the English standard prior to the Union with Scotland, which would make the block date from the sixteenth century. One of the men-of-war displays an immense ensign, covered with horizontal stripes. Notwithstanding this, I think this block is intended to represent the Siege of Belleisle, it being used on Penrith and Glasgow chap-books containing an account of that siege.

Imprint.—

“ PENRITH. Printed and sold by A. Bell.”

“ THE
PERJURED
GARLAND,
SHEWING

How a young lady, near Exeter, forswore herself for the sake of Riches; with an Account what an Example she was made which it is hoped will be a Warning to all young People.”

Woodcut.—The action between a fort and two men-of-war as in last instance.

“ ANTONIO & CLARISSA
OR THE
FATAL POEM.
A
PATHETIC TALE

An account of an unfortunate young
LADY, &c.”

Woodcut.—A gentleman and lady with fan.

Imprint.—

“ PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell.”

This is a dismal story: the heroine, Miss Clarissa Williams, is the daughter of an eminent physician in the north, whose house is a few miles from Whitehaven, where Clarissa was at school.

“THE
GOODHURST GARLAND
IN THREE PARTS.

- Part I. The loyal courtship between a sailor and a farmer's daughter.
Part II. The sailor's mother's passion for her son's pretending to marry the farmer's daughter, who she thought much below his fortune.
Part III. The sailor's wedding, who took his bride home in such rich garments that his mother took her for a fine lady.”

Woodcut.—Five stars or asterisks, cross-wise.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH.

Printed and sold by ANN BELL.”

“THE UNNATURAL FATHER'S
GARLAND
OR THE
DUTIFUL SON'S REWARD.
In Three Parts.

- Part I. Shewing how a gentleman in Dorsetshire had two sons, one of which he had an aversion to, and turned him out of doors.
Part II. How his darling son by extravagant living brought his father to poverty.
Part III. How the son whom his father hated, after sometime being abroad, married a rich lady with whom he came to England, and relieved his sorrowful father from great distress.”

Woodcut.—None.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH.

Printed and sold by ANN BELL.”

“JAMIE AND NANCY
OF
YARMOUTH,
SHEWING
THEIR CONSTANT LOVE TO EACH
OTHER UNDER THE SEVEREST
CRUELTY.”

Woodcut.—A sailor with his arm round a girl points to a ship in the offing.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH.

Printed and sold by A. BELL.”

“THE WESTERN.

GARLAND

In Four parts.

- Part I. *William Whitecraft's* courtship to Mrs. *Susan Cole*, both of Plymouth; with an Account of her Sickness, which disappointed the Wedding.
- Part II. The Deceitfulness of her Parents, who sent her to Holland, because she would not marry a Squire, and break her former vows.
- Part III. *William's* great Fortune in obtaining Riches, with the Account of *Susan's* pretended Death which afterwards he found to be the Deceitfulness of her Parents in finding her by good Fortune at the *Hague*.
- Part IV. His return to *England* with his Love, with an Account of their happy Wedding: concluding with the pleasant Pastime between the Parents and the Daughter, while they did not know their Child, though in their Presence.”

Woodblock.—A ship.

Imprint.—

“Licensed and Entered according to Order.”

“THE
GOLDEN BULL,
OR THE
CRAFTY PRINCESS.

In four parts.

- Part 1st. How a King Courted his own Daughter for marriage, threatening her with Death if she would not consent to be his Wife.
- Part 2nd. The Lady's Craftiness to be conveyed over Sea in a Golden Bull to the Prince she loved.
- Part 3rd. How her Arrival and Love came to be known to the young Prince.
- Part 4th. How her Death was contrived by three Ladies in her Lover's absence. How she was preserved and after married to the young Prince, with other remarkable incidents that happened.”

Woodblock.—A king and a queen.

Imprint.—

“Entered according to Order.”

“THE
SON OF ALKNOMOCK
AND THE
DEATH OF ALICO

To which is added

The African's Complaint on Board a
Slave Ship and
THE NEGRO BOY.”

Woodblock.—An Indian in feathered head-dress smoking a long pipe, with his hand on a hog'shead.

Imprint.—

“Entered according to Order.”

A chap-book of eight pages.

CLASS VI.

CRIMINAL CHAP-BOOKS.

“AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
EXECUTION
OF
STOKES ALIAS STOCKTON
AND
EDWARDS,

Tried at the last Carlisle Assizes, 1809,

FOR THE
ROBBERY
OF THE
WHITEHAVEN BANK.”

Woodblock.—None.

Imprint.—

“WIGTON.

Printed by R. HETHERTON.”

At the end is : *Printed at Hetherton's Office Wigton.*

A DREADFUL WARNING
TO
DISOBEDIENT CHILDREN

Being an awful Account of the Life, Trial, Confession
and Execution of,

JOHN HARRISON

Aged 20 of Wigton, near Carlisle, who was Executed for
the Wilful Murder of his Father, Mother, and Servant
Maid ; for robbing the house, and setting fire to it, with
an intent to hide the crime.

With the manner of the discovery, his apprehension,
what confession he made before the Magistrates. How
the Ghosts of the dead bodies appeared to him in gaol.

'Together with his dying speech at the place of Execution : with several other things worthy the observation of young people.'

Woodcut.—A small rural scene. In the text is a portrait of the murderer.

Imprint.—

"LONDON :

Printed by J. Evans & Son, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield,
Price One Penny."

"THE BERKSHIRE
TRAGEDY
OR
THE WHITTAM MILLER.

Who most barbarously murdered his Sweetheart : With his Examination, Confession and Trial. Likewise his last dying Words at the Place of Execution."

Woodblock.—A rude and hideous representation of a man cutting a woman's throat. This cut is reproduced in "Specimens of Early Wood engraving from the Collections of Mr. Charnley, Newcastle, printer, printed Newcastle 1858."

Imprint.—

"Licensed and Entered according to Order."

"A
DREADFUL WARNING
TO CRUEL
MOTHERS OF CHILDREN.
BEING AN ACCOUNT OF ONE
MADAM MANLEY
NEAR THE TOWN OF
SHREWSBURY

Who was burnt at a Stake for the murder of her own child, a Daughter, of about ten years of Age."

Woodblock.—A man hanging from a gibbet. Inside are three, one of which represents a parson, a lady and the devil.

Imprint.—

"Licensed and Entered according to Order."

“DREADFUL NEWS
FROM
CUMBERLAND
BEING

A true Relation of a most horrid and barbarous Murder committed the 18th of April 1753; shewing one William Johnson, a Butcher, went to Mr. Wilkinson's a Grazier, near Wigton in the county of Cumberland, to buy Cattle and found the said Mr. Wilkinson, his Wife, three daughters marriageable, three small children, a Nurse and a Man servant, all inhumanly murdered in their Beds, and weltering in their Gore. With an account of the wonderful Discovery of the Murderers, their apprehending and Commitment to Carlisle Gaol.

With the substance of a SERMON preached on this sad Occasion by the Rev. Mr. James Douglas, Minister of Wigton.

In a LETTER to a GENTLEMAN.”

Woodblock.—Two small flowers.

Imprint.—

“Licensed and Entered according to Order.”

As the Sermon is said to have been preached in Wigton Church, “Minister” must mean, vicar, but no vicar of Wigton was ever named Douglas. The whole story is a flam, from beginning to end.

“TRIAL
OF
JOHN HATFIELD
FOR
FORGERY
WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF HIS BEHAVIOUR
WHILE UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
AN
INTERESTING LETTER TO MR.—
AND OTHER
PAPERS AND LETTERS.”

*No woodcut.
Imprint.—*

“PENRITH

Printed and Sold by Ann Bell.

Price Three halfpence.

1803.”

Unluckily only the first and last leaves of this interesting local chap-book of 24 pages remain: the rest being lost. Hatfield was tried at Carlisle, August 15th, 1803, and hanged shortly afterwards.

CLASS VII.

CHAP-BOOKS CONTAINING LEGENDS AND STORIES.

“A PLEASANT AND DELIGHTFUL HISTORY OF THOMAS HICKATHRIFT.”

Woodcuts.—On the title page an uncouth figure of a giant, round hat or cap in hand, own hair loose, and costume of the period of George II.

The text contains several other rude cuts, which have little to do with the subject matter, and the whole of the last page is taken up with a woodcut in three compartments: in one two figures on horse-back tilt at one another: in the second are two figures, one standing over the other, who lies upon the ground: in the third two large dogs or wild beasts charge a giant, who thrusts a hand down each of their throats.¹ The cut on p. 13 is a rude reproduction of a cut of Crispin and Crispianus, from the *Shoemaker's Glory*, a chap-book whose imprint is “Newcastle: Printed at the Printing Office in Pilgrim Street.”

Imprint.—

“WHITEHAVEN

Printed and Sold by J. DUNN.”

¹ This is a copy from the title page of *The Famous History of the Valiant London Apprentice*, whose imprint is

“Newcastle: Printed in this present year.” Ashton, p. 227.

“The SECOND PART OF THOMAS HICKATHRIFT.”

Woodcut.—The same as on the last page of the first part: other cuts from the first part are reproduced in the second part equally à propos of nothing in the text. A rude cut of either Charles II, James II or William III, crowned, robed, and vastly bewigged, does duty for the King of the story, William I. A cut of a sort of ballet dance of six figures in armour, and brandishing cutlasses represents the twenty-one ruffians in armour who attacked Hickathrift.

Imprint.—There is none, but this second part is clearly from the same press as the first part with the imprint of J. Dunn.

The history of Thomas Hickathrift is one of the best known of chap-book stories; he is said to have lived in the Isle of Ely, in the time of William the Conqueror. Part I. tells how by his strength and valour he arose from a poor man's son to be Mr. Hickathrift; and Part II., how he came to be Sir Thomas Hickathrift, and died of grief for the loss of his friend Henry Nonesuch, the Tinker. Mr. Ashton prints Part I. of the History of Thomas Hickathrift, and says “This worthy does not seem to have been an absolute myth.”¹

Cunningham prints both parts.²

“THE HISTORY OF THE KING and COBLER.”

This is a chap-book of twenty-four pages, whose first and last pages are gone; it is the first part of the History of the King and Cobbler, a well-known chap-book story, which is given by both Ashton (p. 232) and Cunningham (p. 1). There is no imprint, but in the text are several cuts which appear in the History of Tom Hickathrift, including the giant which did duty on the title page for Tom; it now represents the cobbler going to court. A cut of a lady and gentleman in costumes of end of seventeenth century, represents the cobbler and his wife Joan. What the cut really represents is a puzzle at present: above the lady's head are the letters R.M. while three cherubims blow zephyrs upon the gentleman's head from the upper right corner of the cut. The letters R.M. appear on other woodblocks used by the Dunns.

¹ *Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 193. London: Chatto and Windus, 1882.

² *Amusing Prose Chap-books*. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1889.

“The SECOND PART of the
HISTORY
OF THE
KING and the COBLER.”

Woodcut.—The cut of a King which did duty for William I. in the History of Tom Hickathrift.

Imprint.—

“WHITEHAVEN
Printed and Sold by J. DUNN.”

“THE
HISTORY
OF ADAM BELL, CLIM OF THE CLOUGH AND
WILLIAM OF CLOUDESLE.
THE THREE NORTHERN
ARCHERS.”

Woodcut.—An archer in a modern costume, hat and feathers.

Imprint.—

“Anthony Soulby, printer, Penrith.”

The scene of this ballad is laid at Carlisle.

“THE
EXCELLENT OLD BALLAD
OF
THE THRIFTLESS
HEIR OF LINN
AND
JOHN OF THE SCALES
IN TWO PARTS.”

Woodcut.—In an oval frame, a young head, plumed hat; *qu.* Edward VI.

Imprint.—

“SOULBY, printer.”

“THE
FAMOUS HISTORY
OF THE
VALIANT LONDON
APPRENTICE.”

Woodcuts.—Several very rude and worn. On title page, a young man between two houses. In the text we have:—a youngish man in seventeenth century costume: an older one in the same with full bottomed wig: a lady with Fontange headdress, and a fan:—a view of a city, probably intended for London, there being something, which may be old London Bridge: the barque which was on the title page of Soulbys Antonio and Clarissa, but the letter N has been erased from the main topsail—an interior, two countrymen consulting a man in full bottomed wig, seated at a table; over his head the letter F, and maps of the two hemispheres on the walls,—the figures of Crispin and Crispianus that decorate one of the Whitehaven histories of Thomas Hickathrift, but the picture is reversed. No cut is given of the apprentice vanquishing the two lions.

Imprint.—

“Penrith: printed by A. Soulbys.”

“THE
HISTORY
OF
RICHARD WHITTINGTON
THRICE
LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.”

Woodcut.—On title page figure of Crispin from a Newcastle chap-book, see Ashton’s book, p. 223.

Imprint.—

“PENRITH,

Printed by A. Soulbys.”

There are several woodblocks; in the text is the porirait of a divine with long hair and skull cap; on p. 9 three women; on p. 12, the same barque that appeared on the title page of Soulbys Antonio and Clarissa, and also on the Valiant London Apprentice, but here it has the letter U on the topsail. On p. 14, is a circular shield, on which a ship under topsails; supporters two black-a-moors; this must be the arms of some trading company. On p. 16, a representation of God Almighty in the clouds, surrounded by stars. On p. 19, the Lord Mayor’s coach. On p. 21 Bartholomew’s Hospital, or what is intended for it.

“THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BLIND BEGGAR
OF BETHNAL GREEN
CONTAINING
His birth.” (Long account.)

Woodblock.—A conjuror with cards, thimbles and birds.

Imprint.—

“G. ASHBURNER, PRINTER, ULVERSTON.”

THE HERMIT OF
WARKWORTH.
A NORTHUMBERLAND TALE
IN THREE PARTS.

BY DR. THOMAS PERCY, BISHOP OF DROMORE.”

Woodblock.—A person carrying a cross, ascends a steep and tortuous path up a mountain, while from the skies a hand holds out a crown of glory. A Bewick block (?)

Imprint.—

“PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. FORDYCE.

48, Dean Street, Newcastle.

A variety of Histories and Songs always on hand.

Agent to the Yorkshire Fire and Life Insurance Company.

Annuities and Reversions purchased, and annuities granted.”

“REMARKABLE AND MEMORABLE HISTORY OF
SIR ROBT. BEWICK
AND THE
LAIRD GRAHAM.

Giving an account of Laird Graham's meeting with Sir Robert Bewick in the Town of Carlisle and they going to a Tavern, a dispute happened betwixt them, which of their sons was the best man. How Graham rode home in a passion, and caused his Son to fight young Bewick, which proved their deaths.

ALSO THE
BERKSHIRE LADY'S
GARLAND
IN FOUR PARTS."

Woodblock.—Two Highlanders fighting with broad-swords and targets.

Imprint.—

"Printed and sold by W. and T. Fordyce, Newcastle and Huli;
and J. Whinham and Co., 66, Scotch Street, Carlisle."

CLASS VIII.

JEST BOOKS.

"THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FROLICKSOME COURTIER
AND THE
JOVIAL TINKER."

Woodcut.—A rude one of St. George and the Dragon. There is a woodcut inside of a man with a bag on his back which is a copy (reversed) of a woodcut in *The Cries of York* published by T. Kendrew, Collier Gate, York. The cuts of his publication afterwards got to Banbury, and appeared in *Banbury Cries*, Banbury Chap-books, p. 47.

Imprint.—

"CARLISLE.

Printed by F. JOLLIE, 1796."

A very old collection of coarse practical jokes.

"THE MERRY AND ENTERTAINING
JOKES
OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN
WHO

Was servant or Teacher to King JAMES VI. as his private Counsellor, but publicly acted his Fool. The Whole

compiled in three Numbers for the entertainment of Youth."

In three PARTS.

The Eleventh Edition with Additions.

Woodcut.—None; but across title page is an ornamental border, which occurs on p. 9 of Ann Dunn's edition of Thomas Hickathrift.

Imprint.—

"Whitehaven; Printed and sold by A. COUTTS."

A well-known and popular but coarse story. This copy has a blue paper cover, and consists of sixteen pages.

"THE PLEASANT AND DELIGHTFUL
HISTORY
OF
LAWRENCE LAZY
CONTAINING

His Birth and slothful Breeding: and also as he grew to maturity, how he served the School Master and his wife, the Squire's Cook, and Mr. Wheatley the Farmer, which was accounted by the laws of Lubberland, High Treason. And lastly, his Arraignment and Tryal before Sir *James Jobson* in the Town-Hall of *Never-work*, concluding with his happy Deliverance from those Treasons which were laid to his charge."

Woodcut.—None on title page, but there are two in the text, which are used in other chap-books by J. Dunn.

Imprint.—

"WHITEHAVEN.

Printed for and sold by J. Dunn."

CLASS IX.

NATURAL HISTORY.

“THE SURPRISING
HISTORY
OF THE
LEVIATHAN
OR
RIVER HORSE

Found in the Rivers of Africa.

Shewing the

Wonderful properties of that Amphibious Animal, which lives on the land or in the water, whose teeth strike fire like a flint stone. As also the dangerous manner of catching him.”

Woodblock.—A horse, or rather a zebra.

Imprint.—

“FALKIRK.

PRINTED BY T. JOHNSTON, 1801.”

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION
AT THE SCARBOROUGH MEETING.¹

By PROFESSOR W. BOYD DAWKINS, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

The function of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is to promote the study of the inhabitants of these islands in old times in the widest sense. In the historical section of its labours it devotes itself more particularly to ancient documentary evidence, and pieces together isolated fragments into one narrative, more or less complete, of long-forgotten events, or of manners and customs and modes of life, of which some have no place in the present phase of our civilisation. Here it has to do with dates, and refers everything to its proper place in chronology.

In the section devoted to architecture it deals with the evolution of buildings, and by the scientific treatment of ancient habitations, tombs, and places of worship shows how completely the various forms of building represent the history of the time to which they belong. The Runic crosses, for example, at Ilkley and elsewhere, with their beautiful combination of the Neo-Celtic scroll-work and knotted-rope pattern, are living witnesses of the place of early Irish Christianity in the great kingdom of Northumbria, and confirm the truth of the historical record of the introduction of Christianity into this region through the Celtic missionaries. If, too, we examine them more minutely, we see proof on the one hand of a survival of the flamboyant designs, partly Mycenæan and partly classical, and on the other of the introduction of the knotted-rope pattern clearly traceable to the influence of Byzantium on the Low Germanic conquerors of the Empire of Rome—Gothic, Burgundian, and, it may be added, English.

We rise from the study of the cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches with a profound impression of the extent to which the foreign influence was felt in this

¹ Read July 17th, 1895.

country from the days of the landing of St. Augustine, and of the complete mastery of the centralised ecclesiastical system of Rome over what may be termed the insular Celtic Christianity derived from the east. The ill-disciplined, badly organised, Celtic Church in Britain was as incapable of holding its own against the Roman form of Christianity as the ancient Britons were incapable of withstanding the attack of the Roman Legions. We may note further that the extreme rarity or absence of buildings belonging to the Celtic Christian period in England shows how complete was the victory of the Roman ecclesiastical system over that which went before. The ecclesiastical conquest of Britain by the power seated in Rome was further-reaching and more complete than the conquest by the Roman arms. To it we owe not merely the unity of the Church in the British Isles, but the welding together of the warring kingdoms of the Heptarchy of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland into one great British power. I give these illustrations of the important place occupied by Architecture in relation to History. It was through her portals that Freeman, a name not unknown in this Institute, approached the study which made him famous as the founder of a new historical school in Britain. To him architecture was one of the many aspects of history embodied in stone or brick, or other material.

I pass now to the consideration of the work of the Institute so far as relates to that section over which I have the honour to preside. The study of antiquities, so long a mere dilettante study apart from all others, has now become an exact science, and employs the same method of rigid induction as any of her sisters. In the development of this new science the names of Evans, Franks, Pitt-Rivers, and Greenwell stand among the foremost of our countrymen. It embraces the study of mankind and his advance in culture from the time of man's appearance on the earth to the present day. No fact bearing upon man is too great or too small for its net. On the one hand, it lays under contribution all that geology has to offer as to the conditions under which primæval man lived on the earth. On the other, it interprets the objects with which it deals by a comparison with similar

objects in use by peoples living in various parts of the globe. Its function may be summed up in a few words. It collects the materials for history before history, as revealed by the written records, began. Like history it tells a story of continuity and evolution.

In dealing with this subject I propose to take stock of our present knowledge as to primæval man before history began; and, secondly, to discuss certain special archaeological conclusions which may be based upon the antiquities of the district in Yorkshire in which we meet, so far as other demands upon my time and the adverse conditions of this meeting have allowed. The close atmosphere of a contested election is not favourable for the development of those qualities which ought to characterise a Presidential Address.

Palæolithic Man.

The question of the antiquity of man as so eagerly discussed in the sixties, has now passed into the region of well-ascertained fact. The Palæolithic implements associated with the remains of the extinct mammalia, such as the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros, in the caves and river deposits, prove that man found his way into Britain when our land formed part of the continent, and when the winters were sufficiently severe to encourage the migration of reindeer and other arctic animals, while the summers were sufficiently warm to allow of the hippopotamus wandering as far north as Kirkdale and Leeds. This happened in the Pleistocene Period of the geologists, a period so remote that it is idle to attempt to measure it by the historical unit of years. It is rather to be measured by geographical revolution and climatal change, and by the progress of man in civilisation in the interval which separates the geological from the historical record. It is an antiquity not to be measured in my opinion by any method of chronological analysis.

Preglacial Man in Yorkshire.

The relation of Palæolithic man to the Glacial phase of the Pleistocene Period is clearly shown by the distribution of his implements in Yorkshire and in the South of

England. They have been discovered in abundance in the caves of Cresswell Crags on the southern borders of the county, and are met with in both caves and river deposits south of a line connecting the Bristol Channel with Peterborough.¹ Why are they absent from the postglacial river deposits to the north-west of that line? It is simply because the advance of the palæolithic hunter over Yorkshire was barred either by the masses of ice which have left their traces in the ice-worn hills of this district, or by the waters of the sea which covered Northern and Middle Britain during a submergence, of not less than 1,200 feet. The palæolithic implements in the caves, in the districts covered more or less by the glacial drift, shows that man was living in Yorkshire in preglacial times, while the absence of implements in the postglacial strata can only be explained by the existence of one or the other of the above-mentioned barriers. In the South of England, where there was no great development of ice and no great submergence, and on the plains of France, where there was neither the one nor the other, man lived before, during, and after the Glacial phase.

The Physique of Palæolithic Man.

It cannot be said that any great addition has been made to our knowledge of the physique of palæolithic man during the last twenty years. The recent discovery in the cave of Spy of fragmentary human remains proves that the man to whom they belonged was about 5 feet 3 inches high in stature, and possessed an extraordinary long head, identical in type with that of the Neanderthal skull considered by Professor Huxley to be sufficiently large to have contained the brains of a potential philosopher. The other alleged cases of palæolithic interments, accepted by most of my French colleagues, are in my opinion open to the gravest doubt. The Canstadt skull, for example, on which the most ancient type of mankind is founded, turns out to be a skull of uncertain origin found in the Museum at Darmstadt in 1835, without

¹ The supposed discovery of a bone of preglacial man in the Victoria cave is founded on a mistake. The *fibula*

supposed to be human belongs to a bear.

locality, and assumed to belong to the fossil remains found at Canstadt in the year 1700. The human skeletons in the reindeer caves of the Dordogne, occur in strata which are later than the palæolithic age, while those of the caves of Mentone, in the South of France, and of the Trou du Frontal in Belgium, belong to interments of well-ascertained neolithic age. The skulls and bones of palæolithic man, which are beyond dispute, are too fragmentary to allow of their being identified with any existing race. They are, however, sufficient to prove that when he first appeared in North Western Europe he was a man and not a missing link. The garden of Eden in which he was evolved from a low ancestry is to be looked for in some part of the world other than Europe, and up to the present time unknown. The higher antiquity of man based upon discoveries in Auvergne and in Italy, and the Americas, in Pleiocene and Meiocene strata, has not as yet been established. In a question such as this, where every one is eager to find traces of the human race as far back as possible in the geological record, the evidence must be closely scrutinised on the spot, and everything which cannot be clearly and satisfactorily proved must be relegated to a suspense account. We must wait for the higher knowledge that will certainly come in the natural course of time.

The Neolithic Age.

The relation of the Neolithic to the Palæolithic age, keenly discussed during the last ten years, has not yet passed into the region of undisputed fact.¹ For my part I am unable to recognise any trace of continuity between them in this country or in Europe, or in any other part of the world with which I am acquainted. To me as a geologist they are separated from each other by a profound change in geography, in climate, and in animal life in Western Europe. The palæolithic hunter followed the wild animals in their seasonal migrations over the prairies now sunk beneath the waters of the German Ocean, and the English Channel, to the British Isles. In the hot

¹ This is fully discussed in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1894, pp. 242-254.

continental summer he lived in Britain upon the stags, and bison, and horses, or a chance lion, cave-bear, or hippopotamus. In the cold continental winter he varied his bill of fare with reindeer, or a chance musk-sheep, grizzly bear, mammoth or woolly rhinoceros. The neolithic hunter, in his advance westward from the continent, found the German Ocean already joined to the English Channel by the "silver streak," and had to make his way to our island in a coracle made of skin stretched over a frame, or in a boat fashioned out of the trunk of a tree. The winters were milder, and the summer heat was tempered by the breezes of the sea-girt isle. The wild animals, too, were those which could stand these changes in climate and geography, without any of the extinct beasts, such as the mammoth, or the northern beasts such as the musk-sheep, or of the southern beasts such as the lion.

If, however, the palæolithic and neolithic inhabitants of these islands are separated by these great changes which from our experience we may take to have been slowly brought about in untold ages, still more are they separated by their habits, manners, mode of life, and general archaeological condition. The palæolithic men were nomad hunters ignorant of all arts except sewing, implement making, and the use of fire. It is strange that in the midst of this savage life, one section of them, the Cave-men, should have left behind figures of the animals on which they lived, scratched on bone, antler, and stone, with remarkable spirit—as for example in the caves at Cresswell—and handles carved in the shape of animals, such as kneeling reindeer and standing mammoths in the caves of France. The arts of drawing and sculpture were with them developed to a high degree.

The neolithic men were not only hunters, but farmers, and herdsmen, growing wheat and flax, and keeping herds of short-horned oxen (*Bos longifrons*) and of swine, and flocks of sheep and goats, and a breed of large dogs. To them we owe the domestic horse, so dear to all true natives of Yorkshire. They were spinners and weavers, and miners of flint for the manufacture of implements which they turned to use, in the clear-

ing away of the forest, and the development of carpentry. They lived in fixed habitations, generally circular huts half sunk in the ground. In spite, however, of this immeasurably higher culture, they were singularly devoid of the art of reproducing natural forms which their Palæolithic predecessors carried to so high a pitch in England, France, and Switzerland.

It is obvious, therefore, that the comparison of the palæolithic with the neolithic remains results in a striking contrast, and shows no trace of continuity. On the other hand, continuity is argued, from the discovery of rudely chipped implements ("Eo-lithic, Meso-lithic") like the palæolithic in Kent and Sussex, and from the identity of physique in certain human skeletons, found in caves, with neolithic skeletons. The first plea finds its answer in the fact that in making neolithic implements vast numbers were broken and thrown away (as at Cissbury and Grimes Graves) while they were being chipped out of the flint blocks, and the second in the fact that the skeletons in the caves are neolithic, and not palæolithic in age.

While, however, there is no proof of contact between the palæolithic and neolithic dwellers in Europe, all who believe in the descent of man from one stock must hold that in some quarter of the world the palæolithic hunter gradually became educated into the neolithic farmer.

The theory that the neolithic inhabitants of the British Isles are represented by the Basques and small dark Iberic population of Europe generally has stood the test of twenty-five years' criticism, and still holds the field. From the side of philology it is supported by the fact pointed out by Inchauspé that the Basque word *aitz* for stone is the root from which the present names of pick, knife, and scissors made of iron are derived. This of itself shows that the ancestors of the Basques were formerly in the neolithic stage of culture. The name Ireland, according to Rhys, is derived from Iber-land (Hibernia), the land of the Iberians, or sons of Iber. The evidence seems to be clear: 1. That the Iberians were the original inhabitants of France and Spain in the neolithic age, and the only inhabitants of the British Isles: 2. That they were driven out of the south-eastern parts of France

and Spain by the Celts in the neolithic age: 3. That they are now amply represented by the small dark peoples in the Iberian Peninsula, and in the island which bears their name, and in various other places in Western Europe, where they constitute, as Broca happily phrases it—"ethnological islands." The small, dark, long-headed Yorkshiremen form one of these islands.

The Bronze Age.

Our knowledge of the Bronze Age in Europe has not been greatly enlarged by recent discovery, although many details have come to light which render it more exact. The many skeletons which have been met with in almost every part of the British Isles prove that the use of bronze was introduced by the tall, broad-headed Goidelic ancestors of the Irish Celts, and the Gael of Scotland. They were Aryan invaders of a pre-Aryan and non-Aryan race. In this connection we may note that cremation was first practised in Britain in the age of Bronze.

The Prehistoric Iron Age.

Many and important additions have on the other hand been made to our knowledge of the Prehistoric Iron Age, the Neo-Celtic period of Franks. We now realise—thanks mainly to the two Evanses, father and son—how closely the inhabitants of Britain at that time were connected by commerce with the civilised peoples of Greece and Italy. The Mycenæan art penetrated into the remote region of Ireland, and has left its mark in the designs of the pottery made in this country, as, for example, in the Lake Village of Glastonbury. When Pytheas—the great Massilian Greek explorer—sailed the British seas about 315 B.C., the Prehistoric Iron Age was in full swing, as is abundantly proved by the fragments of his narrative embedded in the works of late writers. It cannot be said to have ended until our land was brought into direct touch with history by the conquest by the Romans.

We must also note that the Brythonic section of the Celtic peoples, including the Belgic tribes of Cæsar, found their way into the island which bears their name in the Prehistoric Iron Age.

In this scant outline I have dealt with the arrival of Man in these islands, and with some of the more important points relating to his ethnology, and the development of his civilisation. From the Roman Conquest onwards the narrative strictly belongs to the section of History and of Architecture.

Prehistoric Archæology of the District of Scarborough.

I shall now address myself more particularly to the prehistoric archæology of the neighbourhood of Scarborough, which has yielded such an abundant harvest to many explorers during the last 100 years, and more particularly to Stillingfleet, Greenwell, Mortimer, Pitt-Rivers, and Boynton.

The physical characters of the district are very remarkable. To its north and west lie the lofty oolitic heather-covered moors of Cleveland, deeply cut into well wooded ravines and valleys, leading southwards into the great alluvial plain of the Vale of Pickering which extends eastwards almost as far as the line of cliffs between Scarborough and Speeton. To the south of this rise the lofty and precipitous range of the chalk wolds sweeping from Settrington eastwards to Speeton, and gradually descending southwards to the Humber. It also descends to the south-east along a line from Bridlington to Driffield and Beverley and to Hessle, to the marshes, and ancient meres of Holderness. It also is divided by a central valley into two parts, ranging from Bridlington on the coast past Rudstone and Wharram-le-Street to Grimston and Settrington. The district thus consists of two main uplands, the northern gradually passing into the bare moorland, and the southern consisting of chalk, dry and with but few trees, and therefore peculiarly favourable for ancient settlement, while the valleys were, as Pitt-Rivers points out, morass and forest, for the most part trackless. It is on these higher grounds that we meet with innumerable traces of man in this district, in the implements and weapons, in the ancient dwelling places and burial mounds, and last though not least in the series of earthworks which guard the uplands from attack. It is obvious from the vast numbers of implements collected

by Mortimer and to be seen in his museum at Driffield (well worthy of a visit by this Institute), and by Greenwell, and others, and from the examination of the ground that this area was one of long-continued settlement in the Neolithic, Bronze, and Prehistoric Iron Ages.

The axes and other characteristic implements of stone found in the surface soil of this district and in burial mounds such as Howe Hill, Digglesby, prove that it was inhabited in the Neolithic Age. They are, however, few in number, and imply a sparse population who interred their dead in a crouching posture. In the Bronze Age the population was very considerable, as is proved by the large numbers of tumuli, most of which contain stone implements known to have been in use at that time from their association with bronze implements elsewhere. They burned their dead as a rule, although the practice of interment was still carried on. Were it not for this we should have no materials for identifying the men of the Bronze Age with a living race. The Neolithic remains belong to the small long-headed Iberic race of men, the oldest living stock in Europe, to whom the living small dark Yorkshiremen and women owe not only their dark hair and eyes and long heads, but the taste for horseflesh which, as every one knows, is one of the attributes of the dwellers in this county. The interments of the Bronze Age add the second element to the ethnology of the county, the tall, fair-haired, round-headed Goidel, high cheek-boned, and with large mouth and aquiline nose, such as may be studied in the Gristhorpe skeleton in the Scarborough Museum. These big, round-headed invaders did not drive away the smaller people, but absorbed them into their mass. They took possession of the wolds, and probably enslaved the former possessors of the soil. They are still represented in Yorkshire.

The question as to the direction from which this invasion took place finds its answer in the results of the work of Pitt-Rivers on the complicated system of earthworks which occupies the higher parts of the wolds. He has proved, to my mind without doubt, that the invasion took place from Flamborough Head, and that the invaders arriving by sea first protected themselves by the making of the great rampart and fosse running from

cliff to cliff, called the Danes Dyke from its subsequent use by the Danes.

Then as the advance was continued inland the line of Argam Dyke formed the next defence, and finally, as they mastered the rest of the wolds, they made other dykes and fosses so as to command the approaches on every side to the chalk plateau from the low forest-clad and marshy districts, where the unsubdued natives had found a refuge.

A second line of attack is traceable on the north side of the marshland of the Derwent starting from Scarborough Castle as a base, the ramps and fosses, the moordykes, Scammeridge Dykes and Givendale Dyke form part of a series also pointing westwards as the land between Scarborough and Ellerbourn, and south of Troutbeck, slowly passed under the dominion of the Goidel.

The Brythonic branch, too, of the great Celtic race is amply represented in this district in the Prehistoric Iron Age by various discoveries, among which are those made by Stillingfleet in 1816-17, at Arras near Market Weighton, and by Greenwell some sixty years afterwards. In one barrow we see the warrior laid to his rest on a wooden shield with an iron rim and a bronze boss, in his chariot with his two horses and their harness. In another a lady of rank lay with her legs gathered up, and with her ornaments. A necklace of glass beads was around her neck, and upon her breast lay a pendant set with ivory to match the bronze brooch which fastened her dress. She wore on her wrists bronze bracelets adorned with enamel, and on her finger a gold ring. These give a vivid picture of the burial customs of the time on the Yorkshire wolds. The chiefs were sent off on their last long journey, armed and in their chariots drawn by two horses, and the women of rank were buried with ornaments which would render them conspicuous in the unknown world of spirits.

Such as these were the chiefs of the dwellers on the Yorkshire wolds at the time when the Greek vessels first visited the then unknown region of the German Ocean, and such were the people who looked down from Flamborough upon the strange sails of Pytheas when he coasted from Kent northwards to the Orkneys in his memorable expedition to the Amber coast in the year 315 B.C.

Here I may fitly end my address, all too short alas ! for my subject, and all too long for my audience. The subject itself is further away from human interest than those of the other sections of this Association, and, unfortunately, will not be illustrated by a visit to any of the memorials with which it deals. It will, however, call attention to the prehistoric history—if I may indulge in a paradox—of this part of Yorkshire which awaits the future explorer.

THE SIGNS OF OLD FLEET STREET TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.¹

By F. G. HILTON PRICE, DRE.S.A.

Shop signs are of great antiquity: it is quite probable that they were employed by the great nations of ancient times to denote their trades, and to help the inhabitants of cities and towns to find out where such and such a commodity was to be obtained. We have no actual record of their being used by the old Egyptians or other peoples of the Eastern world; but it is highly probable that the tradesmen of those times did employ them, and placed some sort of inscription over their doors to indicate what they dealt in.

The Greeks, however, no doubt did employ the sign-board, as Larwood and Hotten, in their *History of Sign-boards*, give the following quotation from Athenæus: "He hung the well known sign in front of his house."

When we arrive at Roman times, there is ample evidence to prove that they were largely employed in all their towns. The same authors state that in Rome some of the streets derived their names from some particular sign, such as vicus Ursi Pileati, the street of the "Bear with the hat on," their tavern sign the Bush, &c. In Herculaneum and Pompeii several signs have been found. They are well painted and executed. Four of them are figured on Plate I. of Larwood and Hotten: a mule driving a mill, the sign of a baker; a goat, the sign of a dairy; a cupid with a shoe on its head and one in its hand, as the sign of a shoemaker; and two men carrying a wine jar slung upon a pole, as the sign of a tavern. Many others could be enumerated, but these are sufficient to prove the great antiquity of the custom.

In London we may suppose that signs have been in use from the earliest periods. We have ample records of them in the fifteenth century, although principally those of taverns and booksellers. Later on every house had its sign, hanging from wooden brackets or iron rods and

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 6th, 1895.

ornamental brackets, fixed into the walls of the houses. Some were swung across the streets, whilst others were affixed to posts on the sides of the streets or roads.

Charles the First granted a charter to the inhabitants of London making it lawful for them to expose and hang their signs over the streets, ways, and alleys of the said city, affixed to their houses and shops for the better finding out of such citizens' dwellings.

It must be remembered in those days few people could read, and the masses were ignorant, and the picture sign was necessary to guide them to the house they wished for. Before the Great Fire of London in 1666, the streets were narrow, and the pent houses, with their signs swinging in the wind, must have made the houses very dark, and the noise of the signs swinging on their rusty hinges was considerable. Originally it was no doubt intended that the signs should express the trade or occupation of the owner to a certain extent; and in the early days, when a son was brought up to the trade of his father, they were appropriate; but later, in the seventeenth century, the signs often remained the same, and the occupants changed about. Thus the original sign had lost its former significance, and they no longer served to indicate the trade carried on within.

Addison, writing to the *Spectator*, says: "I would enjoin every shopkeeper to make use of a sign which bears some affinity to the wares in which he deals. A cook should not live at *The Boot*, nor a shoemaker at the *Roasted Pig*; and yet, for want of this regulation, I have seen a goat set up before the door of a perfumer, and *The French King's Head* at a sword cutler's." Things changed in the days of Charles the Second, the people becoming more educated. Most of them could read an inscription, so the picture sign was not of much use. But they had become a great nuisance and a danger by reason of their occasionally falling upon the passers-by. One memorable sign in the parish of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, was so heavy and large that it actually pulled the front of the house out and killed four people. Consequently, an Act was passed, in the seventh year of his reign, to the effect that no signboard should hang across the streets, but that the signs should be fixed to the balconies or sides of the houses.

After the Great Fire many of the signs were made of stone and built into the fronts of the houses, whilst the majority of people hung them over the doors or fixed them to the fronts of the houses as before. But in the eighteenth century they became as great a nuisance as they had been in the days of Charles the Second.

Thus, in the year 1762, the painted signs (many of which are said to have been painted by sign painters who dwelt in Harp Alley, or Harper's Alley, Shoe Lane, and others) were taken down by Act of Parliament, and only those of stone which were built into the fronts of the houses were suffered to remain, and these have from time to time disappeared as and when the said houses have been demolished, and at the present day very few of them exist *in situ*, and a very small number are preserved in the Museum of the Corporation of London, at the Guildhall. For a full description of these I would refer you to the excellent work on *London Signs and Signboards* by my friend Philip Norman, who has long worked upon this subject with great perseverance and ability.

It is much to be regretted that none of these picture signs were preserved, as many may have been of considerable merit, and most of them would be extremely interesting now.

In March of this year Bonnell Thornton got up an exhibition at his rooms in Bow Street of signboards, as a burlesque upon the exhibition of the Society of Artists. A catalogue was printed, which is to be seen in the Appendix of Larwood and Hotten's *The History of Signboards*. It is recorded that Hogarth, who enjoyed the joke, helped in the matter. It was a happy idea, as this was the year when they were taken down from the houses and the houses were numbered for the first time.

At first this change caused great annoyance to the inhabitants, as, the streets then being badly lighted, there was considerable difficulty in finding the shops; and it is said that many resorted to hanging up lanthorns, or placing candles on the balconies, or by painting their door posts, doors, or fronts of their houses some glaring colour, which signs were duly advertised in the newspapers in order to assist purchasers to the houses.

We may often observe in advertisements in newspapers,

advertising some quack medicine, that the particular house is to be known by a red or a green lamp burning over the door.

It is not my intention to enter into any minute explanation of the actual signs or the meaning of them, as that has been already so ably done by Messrs. Larwood and Hotten and P. Norman.

In making this collection of signs I have consulted almost every known London newspaper and all available contemporary literature.

The subject I have selected for my paper this afternoon is upon the Signs of Old Fleet Street. Notwithstanding I have been collecting the names of London signs for many years, and have a large collection of them, still I must crave your indulgence if I fail to make it as interesting as you may have expected in consequence of the short notice I have had from my friend Mr. Lyell, your excellent secretary.

As Fleet Street is a very long one, containing originally upwards of 200 houses, I propose first of all to deal with those signs which I can approximately, if not actually, give the present numbering, commencing with Temple Bar on the south side, then those located near the Middle and Inner Temple Gates, those described as being over against St. Dunstan's Church, Fetter Lane by Water Lane, Salisbury Court, Fleet Bridge, then up the north side of Fleet Street to Temple Bar.

This is a list of 315 signs, of which I have been able to localise but 65 to the present numbering. Then there are many others approximately localised; that is to say, we know their position in the street, but are unable to fix the number.

You have doubtless observed what a tendency there has been of late years to revive the signs; and many elegant wrought iron brackets bearing signs may now be seen hanging from the fronts of shops in the streets. Perhaps they may again be over-done, and so, for the third time, become a nuisance, and the London County Council will have to step in to have them removed; but I hope not, as, if not too big, they are very ornamental. Some of the old bankers have always retained their signs, which they keep within, and place a picture of it on their cheques.

In the following account it will be noticed what a great number of booksellers' shops thronged into that part of Fleet Street, between Temple Bar and St. Dunstan's, in the seventeenth century.

Taverns and coffee-houses were likewise excessively numerous, particularly in the parish of St. Dunstan's: In 1631 there were 58, and in 1650-74. Most of them were approached by long passages from the street to the house behind, as *Dick's* and the *Rainbow* are at the present day. All the courts in Fleet Street probably take their names from a tavern which formerly stood up the court or alley. Those would most likely be the most important taverns.

Coffee houses or taverns became so numerous in London and the country generally that King Charles the Second issued a Proclamation to suppress them in the fifteenth year of his reign (see *London Gazette*, December 27, December 30, 1675): "That the multitude of Coffee houses of late years set up and kept within this Kingdom, the Dominion of Wales and town of Berwick on Tweed, and the great resort of idle and disaffected persons to them, have produced very evil and dangerous effects, as well for that many tradesmen and others do therein mispend much of their time, which might and probably would otherwise be employed in and about their lawful callings and affairs; but also, for that in such houses, and by occasions of the meetings of such persons therein, divers false, malicious and scandalous Reports are devised and spread abroad to the Defamation of His Majesties Government, and to the disturbance of the Peace and quiet of the realm; His Majesty hath thought fit and necessary, that the said coffee houses be for the future Put down and suppressed, &c."

So now, as Dr. Samuel Johnson was wont to say, "Let us take a walk down Fleet Street."

In the year 1493 we read that Richard Pynson emprinted at the Temple Barre of London.

At this time Temple Bar was, as doubtless you are all aware, a structure of wood; and it was not until after the Fire of London that a stone Temple Bar, which we all remember, was constructed for the most part of stones taken from older city buildings. It was completed in 1672.

From 1571-1590, William How, printer and bookseller,

dwelt there. In 1578 Ward and Munde, booksellers, were likewise over Temple Bar.

In 1663 we find, from Noble's *Memorials of Temple Bar*, that at Munday's Coffee House, over Temple Bar, Dr. Bates held his conventicle. He had been a vicar of St. Dunstan's, and was turned out.

No. 1, *The Marygold*. In 1619 this house was a tavern kept by one Richard Crompton, who was "presented at the wardmote inquest for disturbing the quiett of John Clarke and his family being next neighbours, late in the nights from tyme to tyme by illdisorder." Shortly after this the *Marygold* was taken by William Wheeler, a goldsmith; then by Thomas Blanchard, who were the predecessors of Blanchard and Child. Ever since this time the same business has continued, and is still flourishing, under the style of Messrs. Child and Co., who possess the original sign, which is hung up in their front shop. Up to and after the year 1670 the entrance to the house was under the foot arch of the Bar itself. Consequently, the names of Blanchard and Child do not appear in Fleet Street until after that date, as the entrance was in the parish of St. Clement's Danes. I have several instances of the house being described in 1664 as the *Marygold and Sun* Without Temple Bar. When Temple Bar was taken down the entrance under the Bar was clearly seen. In the Poll Tax Book of 1660, which Mr. Tisley, the vestry clerk of St. Dunstan's, kindly allowed me to have a copy of, it showed that the site of No. 1, *The Marygold*, was then occupied by a goldsmith of the name of Thomas East. Thomas Blanchard was there in 1673, and shortly after the house was altered and the entrance was in Fleet Street, as in the year 1677 we find Blanchard and Child were at *The Marygold* in Fleet Street keeping running cashes, so they must have taken in East's shop, who migrated into the Strand.



In a will of John Waynewright, in 1625, it is called the *Man in the Moone*, formerly a tavern called the *Marygould*, in the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West.

Between No. 1 and 2 was a passage, at the end of which

was a tavern called the *Sugar Loaf and Green Lattice*. The following title on a book tells us that a printer once occupied the premises: "A Night's Search, by Humphry Mill, London, printed by Richard Bishop, for Laurence Blacklock at the *Sugar Loaf*, next Temple barre."

Pepys writes on March 10, 1669: "Mr. Burges, we by water to Whitehall, where I made a little stop: and so with them by coach to Temple Bar, where at the *Sugar Loaf*, we dined, and then comes a companion of theirs, Colonel Vernon, I think they called him, a merry good fellow, and one that was very plain in cursing the Duke of Buckingham, and discoursing of his designs to ruin us, and that ruin must follow his counsels, and that we are an undone people."

1691, John May was here.

1697, and a few years on, William Biggins, and Dorothy Biggins his wife, was the landlord.

Early in the eighteenth century this house was embodied in Child's Bank.

No. 2 was the *King's Arms and Civet Cat*. "Mr. Shenstone lodged at the *King's Arms* at Mr. Wintles a perfumers." From 1711-1728 Henry Gilbert, hatter, was here.

1728, the *Craftsman* of March 1, 1728-9, announces "that Benjamin Tassel, haberdasher and hosier, continues the shop of Henry Gilbert, haberdasher of hats, lately deceased, next the *Old Devil Tavern* within Temple Bar; where his customers and others may depend upon being faithfully served and to their satisfaction."

A hosier was still there in 1766.

It afterwards became the shop of Mr. Knowlton, a hatter, who was succeeded by John Preedy, and whose son, John Knowlton Preedy, remained there until the house was pulled down in 1879, when the site was included in Child's Bank.

Next to this was a passage leading up to the *Devil Tavern*, between No. 2 and 3. It was sometimes called *St. Dunstons* or the old *Devil Tavern*. This famous old house was mentioned as early as 1563, and was much frequented by the quality in the days of James the First. Simon Wadlow was then the vintner. Ben Jonson used the house,

and wrote many of his verses under the influence of the wine he drank at the *Devil*.

It has been frequently mentioned by Pepys in his Diary, and by a host of other writers.

The following notice appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, February 23, 1742 : "The gentlemen educated at the Rev. Mr. Cox's School at Kensington are desired to meet at the *Golden Lyon* (which was opposite Fetter Lane) and *Devil Tavern* near Temple Bar to-morrow the 24th instant. Note.—Dinner will be on the table at 3 o'clock."

There was a large room here called the Apollo, in which great entertainments took place. Ben Jonson wrote the rules in Latin, also a welcome, which was painted in letters of gold on a black board, placed near a bust of Apollo. These latter are now in the possession of Messrs. Child and Co. It runs thus :

Welcome all who lead or follow
To the oracle of Apollo—
Here he speaks out of his pottle,
Or the tripes, his Tower bottle;
All his answers are divine,
Truth itself doth flow in wine.
Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,
Cries old Sim, the King of Skinkers ;
He who the half of life abuses,
That sits watering with the Muses,
Those dull girls no good can mean us ;
Wine it is the milk of Venus,
And the poets' horse accounted :
Ply it, and you all are mounted.
'Tis the true Phœbian liquor ;
Cheers the brains, makes wit the quicker,
Pays all debts, cures all diseases,
And at once three senses pleases.
Welcome all who lead or follow
To the oracle of Apollo.

Beneath it is written "O rare Ben Jonson." Sim, the King of Skinkers, was Simon Wadlow, the host in these days.

The *Devil Tavern* fell into decay, and Messrs. Child and Co. purchased the freehold of these premises in 1787, when they pulled down the old house and erected a row of houses lately known as Childs Place on the site, which in their turn were demolished in 1879 to make way for the new banking house. The old cellar of the *Devil* was then

destroyed. Buried deep in sawdust a bottle of wine was found, and some empty ones. It probably contains port wine. The bottle is now in my possession.

Among the many curious events that took place here, I will read you the following, which happened in the days of George II. :—

“The late facetious Duke of Montagu (the memorable author of the bottle conjurer at the little theatre in the Haymarket) gave an entertainment at the *Devil Tavern*, Temple Bar, to several nobility and gentry; selecting the most convivial, and a few hard drinkers who were all in the plot.

“Heidegger was invited, and in a few hours after dinner was made so dead drunk that he was carried out of the room and laid insensible upon a bed. A profound sleep ensued; when the late Mrs. Salmon’s daughter (from the *Golden Salmon*, the keeper of the waxworks) was introduced, who took a mould from his face in plaster of Paris. Upon this, a mask was made and coloured to the most exact resemblance, and a few days before the next masquerade (at which the King promised to be present with the Countess of Yarmouth) the duke made application to Heidegger’s valet de chambre and bribed him to discover what suit of clothes he was to wear, and then procuring a similar dress, and a person of the same stature, he gave him his instructions.

“On the evening of the masquerade, as soon as His Majesty¹ was seated (who was always known by the conductor of the entertainment and the officers of the Court, though concealed by his dress from the company), Heidegger, as usual, ordered the music to play ‘God save the King’; but his back was no sooner turned than the false Heidegger ordered them to strike up ‘Over the water to Charley.’ The whole company were instantly thunderstruck, and all the courtiers not in the plot were thrown into a stupid consternation.

“Heidegger flew to the music-gallery, swore, stamped, raved, accused the musicians of drunkenness, or of being set on by some secret enemy to ruin him. The King and Countess laughed so immoderately that they hazarded a discovery.

¹ George II.

“While Heidegger remained in the gallery ‘God save the King’ was the tune; but when, after setting matters to rights, he retired to one of the dancing rooms to observe decorum was kept by the company, the counterfeit, stepping forward and placing himself upon the floor of the theatre just in front of the music-gallery, called out in a most audible voice, imitating Heidegger, ‘D--d’ them for blockheads, adding, had he not just told them to play ‘Charley over the Water’? A pause ensued. The musicians, who knew his character, in their turn thought him either drunk or mad; but as he continued his vociferation, ‘Charley’ was struck up again. At this repetition of the supposed affront, some of the officers of the Guard, who always attended upon these occasions, were for ascending the gallery and kicking the musicians out; but the Duke of Cumberland, who could hardly contain himself (His Royal Highness, too, being in the secret), interposed.

“The company were thrown into the greatest confusion. Shame! shame! resounded from all parts, and Heidegger once more flew, in a violent rage, to that part of the theatre facing the gallery.

“Here the mischievous Duke of Montagu, artfully addressing himself to him, pretended that the King was in a violent passion; and that his best way was to go instantly and make an apology, for certainly the musicians were mad, and afterwards to discharge them. Almost at the same moment he ordered the counterfeit Heidegger to do the same. The scene now became truly comic in the circle before the King. Heidegger had no sooner uttered an apology for the insolence of his musicians than the false Heidegger advanced, and, in a plaintive tone, exclaimed, ‘Indeed, Sire, it was not my fault, but that the devil’s in my likeness,’ pointing to the true Heidegger, who turned round, staggered, grew pale, and was speechless.

“The Duke of Montagu, thinking the hoax had taken a serious turn, now humanely whispered in his ear the sum of the plot, and the counterfeit was ordered to take off his mask. Here ended the frolic, but Heidegger swore he would never attend any public amusement again unless that witch, the waxwork woman, was made to break the mould and melt down the mask before his face.”

[Extracted from the *Reminiscences of H. Angelo*, 1828-30.] There was another account of it in the *Public Advertiser* of November 9, 1779.

No. 3 or 4 was the *Mitre*, described as being between Temple Bar and the Middle Temple Gate. From 1660 to 1681 we find that John Starkey, a bookseller, kept shop here. He published Shadwell's Plays; he afterwards printed a book against the Government, and was exiled to Amsterdam.

In 1692 we find Abel Roper, a bookseller, was here.

No. 7, *Hand and Star*, between the two Temple Gates. 1553-1597, Richard Tottell or Tothill, a bookseller, was here; in 1578 he was Master of the Stationers' Company, and was in business over forty years. 1594, Charles Yetsweirt, bookseller, and afterwards the widow, Jane Yetsweirt, had a press here. 1660, Gabryell Bradle, a stationer, was here; from 1691-94 Thomas Bever, a bookseller and stationer. In 1710 we find the name of Mr. Plaistow; 1730-1741, Joel Stephens, law stationer. From 1818 to the present time it has been in the hands of the Butterworths, law booksellers.

No. 8, *Young Devil*, which tavern appears to have been started about 1689, in opposition to the *Old Devil and St. Dunstan*. In this year Robert Fenwick appears to have been mine host; he sold tickets for the annual feast of the sons of the Clergy to be kept at Merchant Taylor's Hall. The Society of Antiquaries met here on January 9, 1707-8, and for some time afterwards. It was originated about this time by Mr. Wanley, the goldsmith, and Le Neve. The entrance was down a flight of steps; consequently, the tavern was below ground.

Richard's Coffee House, or *Dick's* as it was afterwards called and is now, was approached by a long passage. It was called Richard's after its landlord, Richard Torver. It was founded about 1680. Timms says that this house was originally the printing office of Richard Tottell, who lived at the *Hand and Star* next door.

The Crown was probably No. 9, situated between the two Temple Gates. From 1652-1674 William Leak, a bookseller, was there; in 1660 he advertised the *Ideot* in four books. From 1685-1694 John Weld was there; and in 1695 a Mr. Fowler. It is possible this house had

another sign after this, as I do not find it mentioned again.

No. 11, *The Black Lyon*, between the two Temple Gates. The first occupier I know of was John Grone, a stationer, who was there in 1660. The *London Gazette*, July 12, 1669, has the following: "These are to give Notice that the receipt for Letters within the Temple Barre, is removed from Mr. Eales and for the more secure conveyance of Letters to the General Post office is now settled with Mr. Grone, stationer at the *Black Horse*, between the two Temple Gates within the Barre." July 19, 1669, this was corrected to *Black Lyon*. In 1677 we find it had become a goldsmith's shop, inhabited by Thomas Fowles. It eventually became Mead and Co., and they failed in 1727. In 1735 it was tenanted by Arthur Mydleton, a glover; then Eyres' original mineral water warehouse; and in 1760 that business was carried on by W. Owen, who was likewise a bookseller.

No. 14, *The Sun*, next the *Rainbow*. Here, between 1652–1675, Abel Roper, John Martyn, and Henry Herringman published Dugdale's *Baronage of England*; from 1683 to 1699 William Rogers, bookseller, was here; he published *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*. In 1706, Ferrers, an upholsterer; 1718, R. Francklin, a bookseller; 1731, I. Shuckburgh, a bookseller.

No. 15, *The Rainbow*. In 1636 Ephraim Dawson, a bookseller, kept shop here; 1641–1651, Daniel Pakeman, probably a bookseller, but in the latter year he advertised for a "gray nagge" that was lost. In 1657 James Farr was, at a wardmote, presented "for making and selling of a drinke called coffee, whereby in making the same he annoyeth his neighbours by evill smells; and for keeping of fire for the most part of the night and day, whereby his chimney and chamber hath been set on fire, to the great danger and affrightment of his neighbours." In 1660 he was described as a barber chirurgeon of the Livery. In 1666 he issued a halfpenny token (see Boyne), and books were printed here at this time for Samuel Speed. This was the second coffee house that was established in London, and became very fashionable at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century. The

following appeared in *The Newes*, "October 15, 1663: "True Sympatheticall Powder curing all green wound, and infallibly Toothache, is sold by Samuel Speed, Bookseller at the *Rainbow*, price of each paper is four shillings." Speed was also a stationer, and is supposed to have been the first to sell coffee. The old house was pulled down in 1860, and the new and present *Rainbow* erected, which is still a tavern.

No. 16, *Cross Keys and Cushion*, next to Nandos between the Temple Gates. It was probably this house. From 1685 to 1688 Sedgwick, a goldsmith, was here. In 1704–1728 Bernard Lintot, the bookseller, lived here, who published for Alexander Pope, Colley Cibber, and Gray. In 1709 he advertised some of Shakespeare's works, viz., "Venus and Adonis," "The Rape of Lucrece," &c. In 1715, June 23, he announced the publication in the *London Gazette*: The first four books of the Iliad of Homer, Translated by Mr. Pope, who has added a critical Preface, an essay on the Life, Writings, and Learning of Homer, and large notes to each Book &c. Printed in Folio for Bernard Lintot between the Two Temple Gates, who has obtained a grant from his Majesty King George for the sole Printing and Publishing thereof, Price stitched 12s. or 14s. bound. N.B. A small number are printed on large Paper Price a guinea stitched or 25s. bound." In 1736 Henry Lintot was here, and from 1744–1761 Charles Bathurst, bookseller.

No. 17, *Nandos*, a coffee house about 1707, east corner of Inner Temple Lane. It was a favourite resort in the eighteenth century, in consequence of the fame of its punch and the charms of its landlady. This house, inscribed formerly the Palace of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey, is erroneous, as it was in reality the office for the management of the estates of the Duchy of Cornwall for Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I. The house was built in 1609 in plain Jacobean style. When *Nandos* came to an end this house was taken, about 1785, by Mrs. Salmon for her waxwork exhibition, where it remained till 1812. It is now occupied by Mr. John Carter as hair cutting rooms.

No. 18 was probably the *Golden Eagle*, over against St. Dunstan's Church. From 1683–93 it was occupied by

Abraham Chambers, a goldsmith. On April 28, 1693, he was attacked by eight highwaymen and was barbarously stabbed with a sword, of which he died that night.

No. 19, *The Three Squirrels*. About 1650 we find that Henry Pinkney, a goldsmith, was here; that he afterwards issued a farthing token from this house (see Boyne). He subsequently moved further eastwards, to the *Golden Dragon*, at which sign he was in 1660. William Pinckney was here at that same date, as is proved by the books of the parish. James Chambers, a goldsmith, kept running cashes here about 1680, and remained some time, and the business was consecutively continued by various persons until it descended to the present firm of bankers, Messrs. Goslings and Sharpe.



No. 20 was probably the *Wheatsheaf*, as it is described near the Inner Temple Gate and opposite Serjeant's Inn. In 1660 the Poll tax shows me that Thomas Fitzer, a saddler, was living next door to William Pinckney at the *Three Squirrels*; he was there until 1679. In 1737 we find a linen draper of the name of Gould there. These last three houses now form the banking house of Messrs. Goslings and Sharpe.

No. 21, This was probably the *Three Daggers*—in 1731–6 called the *Three Daggers and Queen's Head*. Francis Tyton, stationer of the Livery, was here from 1654–73. Thomas Wotton, bookseller, was here from 1688 to 1737, and perhaps later. In 1705 he was described as a goldsmith as well.

Blue Ball, by Hercules Pillars Alley. In 1737 Mrs. Giles, a milliner, advertised pills for purifying the blood.

No. 27 is the site of *Hercules Pillars Tavern*. Up the alley were many small taverns. In 1651 J. Nuthall sold *The Chysurgeons Directorie* here; Robert Cole issued a halfpenny token from here in 1664–6 (see Boyne). The tavern was in great repute in the seventeenth century, and Pepys frequently went there, and was mighty merry.

Next door was the *Angel*, perhaps No. 28. Here, in 1672, John Hancox, a grocer, kept his shop. It was sometimes called the *Golden Angel*; he issued a halfpenny token. In 1675 we find Charles Smith, a haberdasher;

1684, William Hull, a stationer ; and, in 1691, Thomas Warnford, a haberdasher.

No. 30 *Addison's Head*. C. Corbett, bookseller, in 1737, and his business was continued from father to son into the present century.

Black Boy, over against St. Dunstan's Church, probably near Falcon Court, and may be now No. 31, as I find from the Poll tax book that was the position for Abel Roper in 1660, but his name is not again found till much later at this house. Grigge, a goldsmith, was also here. In 1663 Mrs. Seyle, a bookseller, was here. She sold lozenges for the cure of consumption. From 1676 to 1685 Christopher Wilkinson, a bookseller, kept shop here ; 1691-6, William Pate, a woollen draper, lived here. From 1709-14 we find the names of Arthur Collins, who in 1709 published the first edition of his *Peerage* ; he was called by Harley "a broken bookseller." Abel Roper was here at this time, and printed the newspaper called the *Post Boy* from this sign. In 1719 it was occupied by Mr. Huxley, a hatter.

The Ship, next Falcon Court, in 1661 was occupied by William Denton, and 1756 by William Sandby, a successful bookseller, who afterwards became a partner in the banking house of Messrs. Snow & Co. in the Strand.

No. 32, *The Falcon Tavern*, on the site of No. 32. 1685, Mrs. Coles.

Falcon, or *Golden Falcon* as it was sometimes called, was occupied by a printer named William Griffith from 1556-1571 ; he sold his books at the Griffin, a little above the Conduit. In 1572-1587 Henry Middleton succeeded him as a bookseller. From 1679-1689 Thomas Minshull, a goldsmith, was here.

No. 32, *The Crown*. This is the same house as *The Ship*, re-named. Soon after Sandby gave up the book-selling trade he sold the goodwill to John McMurray of the Royal Navy. In 1768 he dropped the Mac, and became John Murray, establishing the famous business which afterwards migrated to Albemarle Street. In a list of the London Bankers, in *The Daily Journal or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's complete Annual Account Book* for 1768, we find the name of John Murray at *The Crown* in Fleet Street. He died in 1793, and his son left Fleet Street in 1812 for Albemarle Street, where the firm still flourishes.

Golden Dragon, near the Inner Temple Gate, judging from the position the name of Henry Pinkney, the goldsmith, takes in the Poll tax book, as being some doors east of Hercules Pillars, I think it might possibly be No. 34, but it is uncertain. He was sometimes called Major Pinkney, and was here about 1660. He was a goldsmith of the Livery, and paid £5 Poll tax. Boyne says he issued a farthing token from the *Three Squirrels*. Pepys, on December 1, 1660, writes: "Mr. Shepley and I went into London and calling upon Mr. Pinckney the goldsmith, he took us to a tavern and gave us a pint of wine." The house was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.

In 1697 Mr. Perin, a mercer, advertised in the *Post Boy*, that he is intending to leave off his trade, hath several sorts of silks, stuffs and Bangalls to dispose of and the House and Shop is to let.

Bell and Dragon, in 1699, was the house of Robert Gower, an apothecary, who advertised Medicinal Spaw Water from Germany. Before the Great Fire it was known by the sign of *The Three Cranes*. The site is now occupied by Messrs. Hoare's Bank.

Three Flower de Lucas was in the occupation of Millicent Huxley, widow, in 1727, and was on the site of Messrs. Hoare's Bank.

Golden Bush and Sun, 1727, in the hands of John Pemberton. This now forms part of Messrs. Hoare's Bank.

No. 37, *The Golden Bottle*. Since the year 1690 this house has been in the occupation of Messrs. Hoare & Co., bankers. The sign originated in Cheapside, where Mr. Hoare had been established many years, and moved here in October, 1690, bringing his old sign with him. I find, from the deeds kindly placed at my disposal by Messrs. Hoare, that this house was previously known by the sign of the *Golden Hind*, or *Hynde*, and from 1660 to 1677 it was in the possession of Messrs. John Mawson and Co., who, the *Little London Directory* of 1677 record, were keeping running cashes at this sign. The banking premises now occupy the site of several houses, from 34 to 39, including the famous *Mitre Tavern* and the *Three Flower de Lucas*, *Bell and Dragon*, *Golden Bush and Sun*.



No. 38, next door to the *Mitre Tavern*, was occupied by a bookseller of the name of J. Williams from 1768 to 1774.

Between Nos. 38 and 39, *Mitre Tavern*. The old famous house of the time of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson stood at the back of this house. It was approached by a long passage called Cat and Fiddle Court, or Alley, which was probably the name of some tavern which had existed here in early days, of which all record is lost. This is the house in which "From the Fair Lavinian Shore. Shakespeare's Rime made by him at the Mytre in Fleete Streete," is said to have been written. The house was first mentioned in 1613, in the register of St. Dunstan's, when William Hewitt was buried. This house was often visited by Pepys and others of this time.

The Council of the Society of Antiquaries were in the habit of dining here between 1728–1775 on St. George's Day. The Royal Society also patronised it. It was much frequented by authors, including Dr. Johnson, who usually supped here. The house ceased to exist as a tavern in 1788, when it became the premises of Macklin's Poets' Gallery, and, lastly, Saunders' Auction Rooms. It was then taken down. The site is now occupied by Messrs. Hoare, the bankers.

No. 44, *Flower de Luce*, described as being at the Corner of Mitre Court, so is probably the site of 44. From 1672–1705 Charles Harper, a bookseller, kept shop here; and during part of the same time, 1694–1734, James Seamer or Seymour, a goldsmith, was here; in 1674 Mr. Williams, a hosier; and from 1723–9, J. Hooke, publisher.

Joe's Coffee House, afterwards called the *Mitre Tavern*, was in Mitre Court, and is still there. It was a favourite resort of Johnson and Boswell. The present house is very much altered since those times.

No. 45, *Hole in the Wall Tavern*, was on the east side of Mitre Court. It is here where the "Free and Easy Johns" were held, which was a society which met in this house to tippie porter and sing Bawdry. (Grose's Dictionary.)

No. 46, *Johnson's Head*, corner of Hare Court, formerly Ram Alley.

In 1787 G. Kearsley, a bookseller, was here. This was a modern sign for an old house.

No. 47 or 52. *Black Moor's Head and Golden Sugar Loaf*, against Fetter Lane and within two houses of Serjeant's Inn, which would make the site of this house on No. 47 or 52.

1709, John Brett, woollen draper.

1721, Mr. Playter, woollen draper.

1736, Joseph Brett, woollen draper.

1737 it was opened by Thomas Jemmitt, grocer, who advertised he sold coffee, tea, chocolate and grocery of all sorts, wholesale and retail, equal in goodness and as cheap as any other in the trade. Before he took this house it was known by the sign of *Black Moor's Head* only.

No. 49 (?) *The Talbot*, against St. Dunstan's, Fetter Lane end. In 1653-1664 Charles Adams, a bookseller and stationer, was here. He paid poll tax in 1660. Adams advertised a powder called the Countess of Kent's powder, a veritable panacea. From 1683-1698 William Warter, bookseller and stationer, who sold curious packs of cards. In 1709 John Lenthall, stationer, who advertised in the *Post Boy*, November 6, 1712: "All the new pictur'd cards, curiously engraven on Copper Plates, following, viz: Fortune Telling Cards, which resolve by astrology their good and bad fortune, in Love, Marriage &c. a Touch on the Times, Love Cards, Proverb Cards, Mathematical, Geographical and Arithmetical Cards, per 2s. each pack."

Amicable Assurance Society for the Insuring of Lives. This is supposed to have been the oldest insurance office in London. In the *London Gazette*, August 5, 1706, the following advertisement appeared:—

"These are to give notice, that a Court of the Directors of the Amicable Society for a Perpetual Assurance office (now incorporated by Her Majesties' Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England) was held at Mr. John Hartley's Bookseller, over against St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street on the 30th July last: where the Directors and the Register being sworn for the due execution of their respective offices, according to the Directions of the Charter they have thought fit to order, that Policies shall begin and be continued to be

delivered out on and after the 6th Instant at the said Mr. Hartley's where Proposals may be had, and attendance will be given from 10 to 12 before noon and from 3 to 6 after noon, Holidays only excepted. And all those that had subscribed to the said Society are desired to take out their Policies within one month at farthest after the said 6th Instant. The subscriptions are near completed and it is determined after that time to admit of new Subscribers to the room of those that shall neglect to take out their Policies, according to the Subscription they have already made."

After having flourished for 160 years, its business was, in the year 1865, transferred to the Economic Life Assurance Co. Their house is now occupied by the Norwich Union Fire Office.

No. 53, *The Golden Buck*. In 1686 a goldsmith called Sommers was here, and Parker and Cradock, also goldsmiths, were at this sign in 1712. From 1709 Philip Overton, picture seller, and John Pemberton, bookseller, were here for many years. It was sometimes called the *Golden Buck and Sun*, and once I have seen it called the *Roebuck*. In 1711 *The Cries of London*, consisting of 74 copper plates, each figure drawn from the life by the famous M. Laron, etched and engraved by the best workmen. Each plate is printed on a half sheet of Demy paper for 10s. a set. In 1762 Robert Sayer continued the business, then Robert Laurie and James Whittle. A large quantity of interesting and valuable engravings and prints were published here during the last and present century.

No. 56, *The Green Dragon*, a tavern, first mentioned in 1636. It was destroyed in the Great Fire, and rebuilt in 1667. It was frequently mentioned in the newspapers. It is now famous for its discussion Forum.

No. 60, *Tycho Brake's Head*. Here, in 1767, George Adams sold New Globes elegantly mounted and a great choice of Mathematical, Optical, Philosophical and Electrical Instruments.

No. 64, *Bolt in Tun Inn*. This was a very ancient hostelry, and is first mentioned in a grant to the White Friars in 1443 and in the Registers of St. Dunstan's 1629-1660. On September 2, 1665, a boy was found dead of the Plague in the Hay loft.

In 1704 The Windsor Coach, horsed by Simon Gray and John Atlee, started from this inn, and in 1734 it was advertised in *London Evening Post* that the Abingdon Stage Coach is removed from the *White Horse*, in Wood Street, to the *Bolt and Tun Inn*, in Fleet Street, and sets out every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Performed (if God permit).

We read in Noble's *Temple Bar* that the host, Thomas Walker, in 1759 was "presented" for entertaining disorderly women, &c. This house is now a Railway Parcels receiving office.

The Griffin, next door to the *Bolt and Tun*. From 1723-1728 Mr. Miles, a turner, was there.

No. 66, *The Boar's Head Inn*, by Water Lane, now Whitefriars Street. I first find this sign named in 1640. William Healey, or Hayley, was here from 1664-1680, and in 1668 issued a halfpenny token. We next find, in 1775, Sarah Fortescue, a widow, at the *Boar's Head Ale House*, was "presented" for keeping a disorderly house.

The house is still an inn.

No. 67, *Black Lyon Inn*, by Water Lane. It was kept by Mr. Walsh in 1676. The sign of the house was changed in or about 1683 to the *Dial and Three Crowns*, and Thomas Tompion, the celebrated watchmaker, resided there. He was made free of the Clockmakers' Company September 4, 1671, elected on the Court of Assistants September 7, 1691, served the office of Warden 1700-1703, chosen Master September 29, 1704. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He died November 20, 1713, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was succeeded in his trade by George Graham, his nephew.

Tompion made a watch for Charles II. with a spiral balance or pendulum spring. One end of the spring was made fast to the arbor of the balance wheel, whilst the other was secured to the plate, and the oscillations were rendered equal and regular by its elastic force. He invented the cylinder escapement, with horizontal wheel, in 1695.

George Graham likewise filled all the offices in the Clockmakers' Company, was a great horologist, and died in 1751, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His

descendant, Mr. Webster, carried on the business, which is now conducted at the *Dial and Three Crowns* in Queen Victoria Street.

The site of the house in Fleet Street is now the *Daily News* office.

No. 99, *Crown and Sugar Loaf Tavern* in 1815.

No. 101, *Red Lion*, near Fleet Bridge. John Hardham lived here and sold his celebrated No. 37 Snuff. He died in 1772.

No. 102, *Mount Pleasant*. Lockyer was its first tenant in 1719. It subsequently became a "Saloop" house, when coffee, sold for seven shillings a pound, was a luxury, and was the only place in London where the liquor made from Sassafras chips could be obtained. Lockyer died 1739. Thomas Read was the next tenant, and the house was afterwards known as *Read's Coffee House*.

No. 112, *The Popinjay*.

No. 134 is the site of the *Globe Tavern*. It was mentioned as early as 1636, and was rebuilt after the Fire. It became a very celebrated house, and was much frequented by famous people. In October, 1663, Pepys took Sir W. Batten there. It is frequently named in old newspapers up to the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was rebuilt after the Great Fire, and at one time was kept by Sir John Tash, Knight.

No. 138 (?) *Astronomico-Musical Clock*, between Bolt Court and Johnson's Court. Here, in 1731, lived Christopher Pinchbeck, the inventor of a metallic composition, called Pinchbeck. Toys and other articles were made of it. He died in 1732, and the business was carried on by his son until 1783, when he died. In 1775 his shop window was broken into and a watch was stolen in the day time. The thieves were caught.

No. 146, *Wine Office*.

No. 152, *Orange Tree*, opposite the *Bolt and Tun*. 1756, Staveley and Cross sold a collection of tree and shrub seeds from North America. John Mason, seedsman and net maker, carried on the business till 1793.

No. 164, *Horn in the Hoop Tavern*. In 1386 we find that John Phippe, a "curreour," lived here. It was then called *Le Horn on the Hope*. The next we learn about it

was in 1405, when Thomas atte Hay, a goldsmith, left it to the Goldsmiths' Company for the better support and sustentation of the infirm members of the Company, and he desired to be buried in the Church of St. Peter de Westchepe.

A token was issued of this house. In 1597 it was called the *Horne*, also in 1772, and subsequently it has been known as *Anderton's Hotel*.

No. 169 is the site of the *Red Lion Tavern*. It was mentioned as early as 1592. In 1602 Ambrose Lupton, innholder at the *Red Lyon* in Fleet Street and by his freedome keepeth a cellar at the Red Lyon Gate, had no less than six cans and eleven pots seized for false measure. It was not heard of after 1666. Red Lion Court was named after it.

The site was occupied by the *Three Angels* in 1772, when we find William George, a mercer, was there.

No. 172, *Black Talbot*, kept by Ralph Foster in 1657.

No. 173, *Three Pigeons and Sceptre*. In 1788 it was occupied by Thomas Smith and Co., India Muslin Warehouse, who were there for some years, and advertised the cheapness of their linen drapery.

No. 174 or 175, *Ship*, corner of Crane Court, near Fetter Lane. Charles Gretton, a celebrated watchmaker, lived there in 1686–1697.

John Curghey, a goldsmith, was there in 1734.

The Leg, a hosier's shop, was one side of Crane Court in 1724—either No. 174 or 175.

Nos. 177–178, *Peele's Coffee House*. It was in existence in 1718, as, by the *London Gazette*, we are informed that a London victualler being a bankrupt met his creditors there.

No. 184 (?) *Spread Eagle*, an old gabled house. In 1570 it was a baker's shop, kept by Henry Elsing.¹ It was pulled down in 1891.

No. 189, *The Salmon* or *Golden Salmon*, the sign of Mrs. Salmon's wax-work shop, which was very celebrated for many years. The *Spectator*, No. 28, says: "It would

¹ Bradford, one of the most eminent of the Marian Martyrs, was taken at Mr. Elsing's house in 1553. (Foxe.)

have been ridiculous for the ingenious Mrs. Salmon to have lived at the sign of the *Trout*; for which reason she has erected before her house the figure of a fish that is her name sake." The old house was pulled down about 1802, it having been taken by Messrs. Praeds and Co., the bankers, who built a new one, and have recently vacated it. Mrs. Salmon then went opposite, to No. 17.



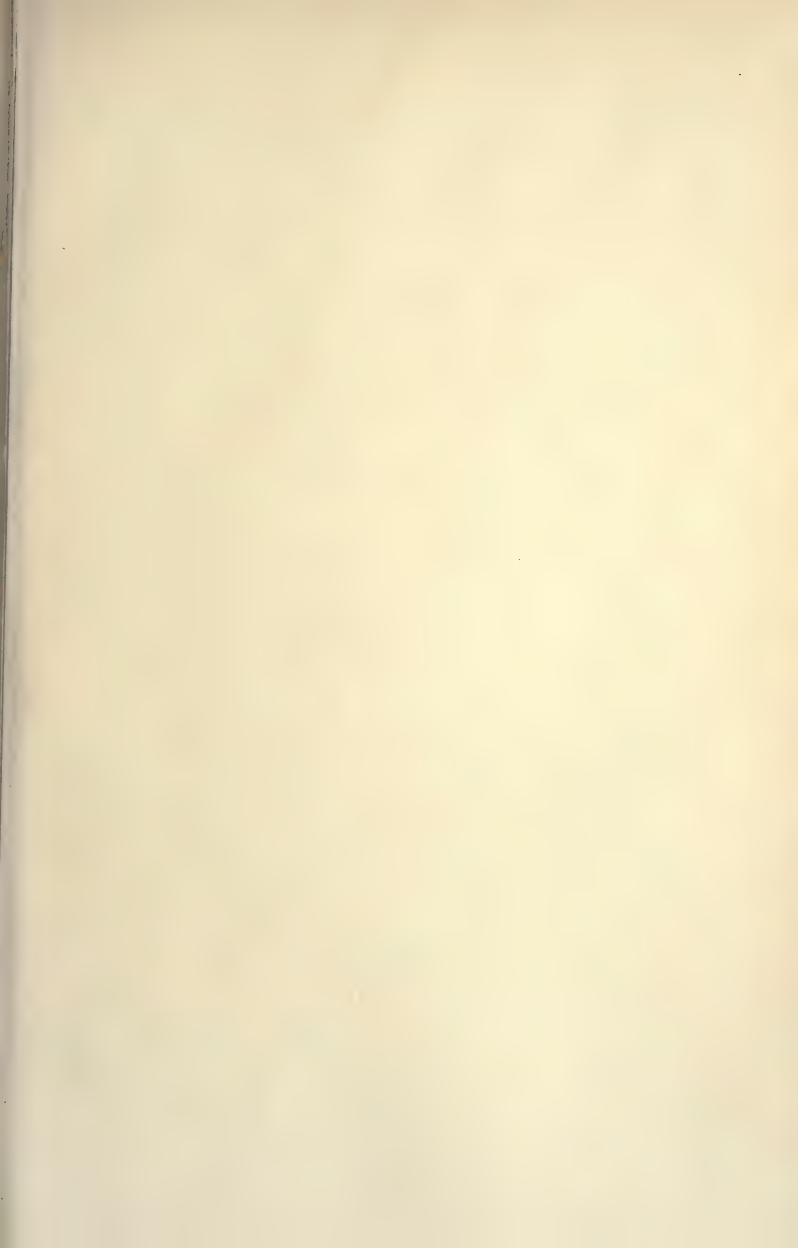
From the bill-head of
Middleton and Innes,
haberdashers.

No. 192, *Three Pidgeons*, over against the Inner Temple Gate. 1689–1700, John Newton, a bookseller, was there. In 1790 it was occupied by Middleton and Innes, haberdashers and linen drapers.

No. 192, *Black Moor's Head*. Here it is said Abraham Cowley, the poet, whose father was a grocer, was born. In 1740 we find it was tenanted by a grocer who sold fine tea. In 1787 the firm was North, Hoare, Nanson and Simpson, grocers. North soon retired and opened a new shop at 190, to which subsequently all the business followed him, as did likewise the partners. Here they remained until recently.

King's Head Tavern, south-west corner of Chancery Lane in Fleet Street. This was an old five-storied house built of carved oak. This was a tavern as early as the days of Queen Elizabeth. The signboard and tokens showed a full-faced portrait of Henry VIII. The tavern occupied the first and second floors; the ground was let out in shops. It is said that Sir John Oldcastle's house occupied this site. He was executed by fire in 1417 in St. Giles' Fields. Richard Marriot, the bookseller, had a shop in 1665 and several years on, under this tavern. In 1653 Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler* was thus advertised in the *Mercurius Politicus* of May 19:—

"There is newly extant, a Book of 18^d. Price, called the *Compleat Angler*, or the *Contemplative Man's Recreation*, being a Discourse of Fish and Fishing, not unworthy the perusal of most anglers. Printed for Richard Marriot in St. Dunstons Churchyard." In another paper it stated it was written by Iz. Wa.



To face page 371.



THE SIGN OF "THE COCK."

The following curious advertisement appeared in the *Mercurius Publicus* Jan. 1 to 8, 1662, which seems to indicate he was Samuel Butler's publisher:—

“There is stolen abroad, a most false imperfect copy of a Poem (called Hudibras) without name either of printer or bookseller, as fit for so lame and spurious imitation. The true and perfect edition printed by the authors originall is sold by Richard Marriot under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street. That other nameless impression is a cheat and will but abuse the buyer as well as the author, whose Poem deserves to have fallen into better hands.”

In 1661 Thomas Jones, a girdler, lived under this tavern.

The house was a Protestant one, and was frequented by Titus Oates. The Green Ribbon Club met here. The old house was taken down in 1799 for city improvements.

The Harrow, against Inner Temple Gate, next door west of the *King's Head*.

From 1624–1643 Izaak Walton lived next door west to this sign. From 1671–1695 Thomas Dring, a bookseller, kept shop here. His house is sometimes called the *Harrow and Crown*.

No. 197, *Rackstraw's Anatomical Museum*.

No. 201, *The Cock Tavern*,¹ or *Cock Alehouse*, as it was first called. It was in existence early in the seventeenth century. The landlord closed the house in 1665 on account of the Plague. The proprietor issued a token in 1655. Pepys frequently visited this house in company with Mrs. Pierce and Knipp. It was famous for its chops, steaks, kidneys, and stout. It was demolished about 1886. The business of the tavern was transferred to *The Cock* a little east of the Temple.

Middle Temple Gate. In 1700 we find B. Tooke, in 1728 Robert Gosling, in 1737 F. Cogan, and B. Motte and C. Bathurst, all booksellers, had shops here. Down the lane on the left is an old house anciently known as the *Post House* at Middle Temple Gate. In 1691 Collins, a bookseller, was at this sign. 1696–1712 Egbert Sanger, bookseller, was there. Now it is the shop of Abram and Sons,

¹ The Institute is indebted to Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A., for the loan of the drawing from which the accompanying illustration is taken.

law stationers and printers, who have been there over a century.

Golden Serpent, near the Temple Gate. In 1660 W. Dacres.

The Goat, near the Temple Gate, was, in 1684, the shop of Thomas Thorpe, goldsmith; in 1696, of Thomas Hussey, haberdasher of hats.

The following signs are described as being between the Temple Gates :—

Bible and Heart. 1686, Samuel Walsals, bookseller.

Fleece Tavern, 1688–1725.

Gay's Head. 1737, G. Anderson, bookseller.

Half Moon. 1723–1737, Thomas Woodward, bookseller.

Locke's Head. 1718, T. Peele, bookseller.

Milton's Head. 1737–1760, George Hawkins, bookseller.

Roebuck. 1703, Robert Gibson, printer and bookseller.

Ship. 1734, C. Ward and R. Chandler, booksellers.

King's Head. 1696, John Story, hosier.

Temple Tavern. 1683–1695, John Viles.

Temple Exchange, near the Temple Gates. The following notice appeared in the *Post Boy* of August 31, 1695 :—
“In the Temple Exchange are shops and a lodging room appropriated to each shop. Rent free for half a year, fit for all such trades as are in other exchanges, and at the end of the said half year they are at liberty to quit the said place, if they do not find sufficient encouragement to pay a reasonable rent for the same. There has been some dispute at law, concerning it, which has hindered the Letting, but now all parties are agreed, and without doubt those that do enter therein may in a little time gain sufficiently, being situated in one of the best places of Trade in London near the Temple Gate in Fleet Street by Temple Bar. Enquire of Mr. Ongley at the Black Bull in Cornhill.”

Temple Change Coffee House. In 1686–1696 auctions took place here.

Inner Temple Gate. Under this gate, in 1737, Jacob Robinson, bookseller, kept shop.

Fountain Tavern, Inner Temple Gate, down the passage. 1665, Monsieur Angiers advertises his famous remedies

for stopping the plague ; to be had at Mr. Drinkwaters at *The Fountain*. The sign was also mentioned in 1702.

The Pestle and Mortar, at the Inner Temple Gate. 1685, Mr. Winn. A farthing token was issued of this house. *Star Tavern*, next the Inner Temple Gate, in 1686.

Golden Key, next the Inner Temple Gate. In 1660 we find a man called Lambert there, who advertised for a white hawk that was lost. In 1677 William Boutel, bookseller ; 1686, Christopher Coningsby, bookseller. In 1690 it was a cutler's shop ; 1692, Thomas Hamersley, a linen draper ; 1699, Thomas Johnson, hosier ; from 1699 to 1737, Thomas Gamull, haberdasher of hats. During the same time, in 1711, we find Hammond Banks, a bookseller ; and in 1710 Benjamin Fleming, goldsmith, here ; and from 1731–1792 James Crokot, bookseller, kept shop.

Temple. George Marriott, bookseller, was here in 1675, and Thomas Salusbury, bookseller, in 1689. In 1691 Peter Buck, at the sign of the *Temple*, near Inner Temple Gate, printed a new comedy called the *Old Batchelor*, by Mr. Congreve.

Judge's Head, near Inner Temple Gate. Jacob Tonson, bookseller, came here from the *Judge's Head*, Chancery Lane. He published Dryden's works, and was secretary of the Kit-Kat Club. He was here from 1682–1698.

The following signs are met with as being over against St. Dunstan's Church :—

Black Horse. 1702, Samuel Cruwys.

Bible and Dial, sometimes called the *Dial and Bible*. In 1709 Edmund Curll, the bookseller, came here from the *Peacock*, Without Temple Bar. Curll was fined by the King's Bench for selling obscene books, whipped and tossed in a blanket or rug by the Westminster scholars, and put in the pillory at Charing Cross.

Crown and Sceptre. 1708, Robert Vincent, senr. and junr., booksellers.

Dial and Two Crowns. 1699–1709, Mrs. Cole, toyshop. She advertised wonderful medicines in the *Tatler*.

The Globe. 1736, John Senex, globe maker.

Golden Anchor. 1671, Ambrose Istead, and in 1690 W. Broome, a scrivener.

Hand and Sceptre. 1682, Robert Kettlewell, bookseller.

Homer's Head. From 1696 to 1731 Lawton Gilliver, bookseller, was here. He published the first correct edition of Pope's *Dunciad* in 1729. The following note I extract from the *Grubb Street Journal*, 1731: "We are glad to hear, that in the controversy between those two eminent booksellers, Lawton Gilliver and John Sillycur, the former (a person of uncommon assurance, who has always shewn a particular enmity against our Society) has at last met with his match. And we have just now received the agreeable news, that he was this very evening rebaptised by the other, who gave him his own name. But as he did it only with the ceremony of sprinkling, which is but modern in comparison of the more ancient one of dipping, we hope he will with greater solemnity perform this upon him at Fleet Ditch, and dip him as much over head and ears, as we are informed he has been dipped himself."

1760, W. Owen, the mineral water man, was here. In 1772 C. Say printed the *Gazetteer* and *New Daily Advertiser* from this sign.

Judge Coke's Head. 1728-1737, T. Worrall, a bookseller.



From the bill-head of Carr, Ibbetsons, and Bigge, at the *Queen's Head* on Ludgate Hill. 1757.

Maidenhead. 1679,

William Rogers, bookseller; 1683-8, Timothy Goodwin, bookseller; 1705, Francis Pryor, linen draper.

Queen's Head. In 1674 John Skerry advertised for a swarthy man who went away from his friends being melancholy distracted! Thomas Cotton, a linen draper, was here in 1682. From 1694 - 1708 Timothy Goodwin, the bookseller, was here.

Seven Stars, over against St. Dunstan's. John Field,

a law bookseller, was here in 1658. In 1672 Robert Markham issued a penny token. Mrs. Markham's toy

shop under St. Dunstan's Church (since Mrs. Cole left off shopkeeping) sells incomparable drops for the Palsey (*London Journal*, March 22, 1728). She was also there in 1737; then Edward Withers, bookseller, was there from 1737-1742.

Three Flower de Lucas and Black Boy, over against St. Dunstan's. 1678-1683, George Dring, a bookseller, was here. In 1718 the proprietor makes and sells all sorts of Ladies neat white and black Hats for riding or otherwise. (This was on the site of Hoare's Bank.)

In 1719 there was a hatter of the name of Huxley at the *Black Boy*, and shortly after we find, by the deeds in the possession of Messrs. Hoares, that the Widow Huxley, also a hatter in 1727, was at the *Three Flower de Lucas*. She probably continued the business at the latter sign, gave up the *Black Boy*, and called her house the *Three Flower de Lucas and Black Boy*.

Three Pidgeons. 1710, C. Edgerton, haberdasher of small wares.

White Hart. In 1539, Richard Banks printed there for Richard Tavener. He had a Patent for Printing the Gospel, &c. Here, in 1600, was printed, for Thomas Fisher, the first edition of Shakespeare's *Midsummer's Night Dream*, a copy of which was sold at George Daniel's sale in 1864 for 230 guineas. From 1671-1683 John Wickens, publisher, and 1686, James Redditch, haberdasher of hats.

Turk's Head, Golden Turk's Head, and Great Turk's Head, interchangeable signs for the same house. In 1654-1665 William Lee published in English that unparalleled work written in Latin by the illustrious Hugo Grotius. From 1683-1713 Samuel Keble, bookseller, kept shop here. He published some of the Parliamentary Blue books. Christopher Coningsby appears at this sign from the *Golden Key* in 1692.

Flying Horse, Mitre Court, 1686.

Saddle Royal, near Mitre Court. 1735, Gooding, a saddler.

Over against Fetter Lane were the following signs:—

Three Sugar Loaves. 1684, William Wright, confectioner.



From the bill-head of Wilson and Thornhill at the *Three Sugar Loaves*, at the west end of St. Paul's. 1758.

Red Cow, 1699.

Peacock. Roger Clavill, bookseller, lived there, and published *Notes on Dryden's Virgil*, by Milbourne. From 1675–1692 John Amery. He published the *History of Appian of Alexandria*. 1694–1698, Thomas Leigh, a bookseller; and in 1699 Henry Wills, haberdasher of hats.



From the bill-head of Thomas Bromwick, at the *Golden Lion* on Ludgate Hill. 1756.

Golden Lion. In 1674 this house was occupied by Michael Scrimshaw or Scrimshire. In the *Little London Directory* of 1677 he was keeping running cashes at this sign. He was a bankrupt in 1689. After which we find the names of the following goldsmiths: In 1691, R. Iacson; 1695, Marmion; 1700, Samuel Wragg; and in 1737 a print-seller named J. Tinney.

Crown and Mitre or *Mitre and Crown*. From 1709–1737, R. Gosling, bookseller; after which we find Edward Littleton there.

Dolphin Tavern. In 1618 its host, Timothy Howe, was being continually presented, for keepinge their tobacco shoppes open all nighte and fyers in the same without any chimney and uttering hott water and selling ale without license to the great disquietude terror and annoyance of that neighbourhood. In 1630 he and another were presented for annoyinge the Judges of Serjeants inne with the stench and smell of their tobacco. (*Noble's Memorials of Temple Bar*.)

Ram Alley, now Hare Court, was at one time a sanctuary.

Ram Tavern. 1651, Ram Alley.

Sugar Loaf or *Shuge Lofe*. The proprietor issued a farthing token.

Dyal, near Serjeant's Inn. 1676, Benjamin Shirley, bookseller; 1683–1693, Joseph Knibb, clockmaker. He removed to Suffolk Street.

Unicorne, near Serjeant's Inn. 1658, Baldron, haberdasher. William Warde issued a penny token after the

Great Fire, 1666, before which he lived in Green's Rents, Fleet Bridge (see Boyne). From 1674–1699 John Shaler, a goldsmith, was here, and in 1685 an apothecary named Weeks.

Harp and Feathers, at the corner of White Fryers, Great Gate. It was probably an inn. An advertisement appeared in the *Gazette* in 1679 that Robert Smith, a painter, was missing. Any news of him was to be given to his wife at this sign.

Two White Fryars, joining the Gate. In 1730 Mr. Saunders, Face Painter with Crayons, removed from Bath: now lives at W. Griggson's at this sign.

Lamb, near White Friars Gateway. In 1674 Barnes, haberdasher of hats; 1698, Dent, a shoemaker.

Hat and Feather, next White Friars Gate. 1698–1712, Mr. Parson.

Hog in Armour, Hanging Sword Court, now Whitefriars Street. 1677 John Young dealt in Sea Coal Sutt! (*sic.*)

Faulcon, over against *Horn Tavern*. 1661, Mr. Wamseley, Falconer at the *Faulcon*, announced in *Mercurius Politicus* that he had lost a young Rammage falcon.

Crown Tavern, near Water Lane, 1682. The Court of the Fishery Office met here in 1716.

Feathers, near Salisbury Court. In 1731 Mrs. Hills, child's coatseller, advertised her Anodyne Necklace in the *Craftsman* as a panacea against various complaints.

George, near Salisbury Court. George Bowers, a goldsmith, was here between 1678–1688. He struck a medal of the Protestant Martyr, Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, whose body was found at the back of Primrose Hill, supposed to have been murdered in 1678. In 1682 he advertised several fine medals of the King and Queen and the Duke and Duchess of York.

Orrery and Globe, near Salisbury Court. 1732, Thomas Wright, mathematical instrument maker to His Majesty.

Gold Ring or *Ring*, near Salisbury Court. Edward Amson, a goldsmith, 1705–1720.

The following signs occurred opposite the *Castle Tavern*, or a little below the Conduit:—

The Griffin, opposite *Castle Tavern*, in 1556–8, was

occupied by William Griffith, a bookseller, who printed at the *Falcon*, near St. Dunstan's.

In 1663 Mr. Waine advertised from the *Griffon's Head*, near the Conduit, which may possibly have been the same house.

Anchor, opposite the *Castle Tavern*. In 1690 we find Mrs. Eady there, and in 1694 it was the shop of Robert Cole, a goldsmith.

Black Swan, over against *Horn Tavern*. Charles Smith, bookseller, in 1673.

Castle, opposite the Conduit and *Castle Tavern*. 1593, Roger Warde, a printer, dwelt there, and in 1650 we find the names of John Martin and Jo. Ridley, booksellers. Baker, a silkman, was here in 1677.

The Sun, over against the Conduit, was in the occupation of several printers at an early date, so we may presume that the house changed its sign afterwards. In 1502 Wynkyn de Worde, the celebrated printer, printed *The Ordynarye of Crysten Men* in quarto "in the flete strete sygne of the sonne"; in 1530 he was at the same sign, described as being agaynste the Condyte. He died 1534. John Byddell, or Salisbury, was de Worde's Executor. He came here from *Our Ladye of Pitye* after de Worde's death. 1537-1556, John Wayland, printer and bookseller; 1549, William Baldwin; 1538-1560, Edward Whitchurch, printers.

Bear Tavern, 1681, near Bride Lane.

Le Bell Savage, otherwise *le Bell Savoy*. 1555, John Craythorne lived there.

Cup and Star, near Bride Lane. In 1718 Mr. Reynolds, a goldsmith.

Star, corner of Bride Lane. 1681, Mr. Reddish; and from 1691-1711 Henry Rhodes, bookseller, were there.

Topfeldes In, Parish of St. Brigid, in 1380 was the house of John de Chichestre, goldsmith, who bequeathed this tenement to his son William.

The following five signs were on Fleet Bridge, which connected Ludgate Hill with Fleet Street. It was taken down 1765, and the Fleet Ditch was arched over:—

Three Bibles, 1665, William Crook, bookseller.

Red Bull, 1665, Okeover lost a black gelding. In

1684 it was called the *Red Bull Head Tavern*, Stephen Sedgewick being the landlord.

Rose Tavern, 1669.

Queen's Head. 1675, Robert Fowle, goldsmith, was here.

White Horse. In 1690 Thomas Issod, a goldsmith, was at this sign.

Rose and Fan, corner of Fleet Bridge. 1756, Todd and Lambden, glass and china men.

Our Ladye of Pity, next Flete Bridge. 1533, John Byddell, alias Salisbury, a printer. He afterwards went to the *Sun*.

Naked Boy, near Fleet Bridge. From 1664–1717 we find James Heriot, a goldsmith, brother german of George Heriot, of Edinburgh celebrity, keeping running cashes at this sign.

Black Horse, near Fleet Bridge. Stephen Walpool, an apothecary, was there in 1663, and in 1742 James Crokatt.

White Bear, near Fleet Bridge, was spoken of in 1678, and in 1737 we learn the proprietor was the original maker of Feather'd Hats: hath now finish'd a fresh Parcel of curious Feather'd Hats and Pillarees in beautiful patterns, far exceeding anything of the kind that has been hitherto made.

Golden Press, by Fleet Bridge. 1541, Laurence Andrew, a native of Calais, was a printer here.

Golden Crosse, by Fleet Bridge. In 1539 we find the same man here, and that he produced a reprint of Caxton's *Thymage or Mirrour of the Worlde*.

Four Coffins, near Fleet Bridge. This was the sign of William Russell, a coffin maker. The following is his advertisement in the *London Gazette* August 18, 1684:—
“William Russell, coffin maker, who hath the art of preserving Dead bodies without embowelling, sear clothing, cutting, mangling any part thereof and hath used it to the great satisfaction of all those honorable persons by whom he hath been employed, lives at the *Four Coffins* in Fleet Street. Coffins ready made and the bodies preserved for five pounds.”

In November of the same year he advertised that he had been employed by the Earl of Carlisle to fetch over the body of Frederick Howard, Esq., who was slain in

the siege of Luxembourg, after it had been buried three months. He preserved it, and it lay in state at his shop and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 11th of October last.

There was another undertaker at this sign called Stephen Roome, whose son was the unfortunate author whom Pope has gibbeted in the *Dunciad* as being afflicted with "a funereal frown."

Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's Head, near Fleet Bridge, 1691, Langley Curtis, bookseller.

Black Mores Head, near Fleet Bridge. 1654, William Larnier, bookseller.

Black Boy, near Fleet Bridge. 1691, Hastings Hyde.

Anderton's Coffee House, near Fleet Bridge, 1688-1695.

Seven Stars at Fleet Ditch. 1710, Ellis, goldsmith, advertised in the *Tatler* for a Necklace of French glass, with a runner of King Charles the First Head cut in amber and set in gold with a chrystal over it. In 1711 the name of Thomas Hines, brazier, appears.

Golden Ball, over against St. Bride's Lane. 1722-30, Mrs. M. Bartlet sold and made trusses.

Three Anchors or *Three Golden Anchors*, over against Salisbury Court, 1698. The trustees of the Land Bank removed here.

Cross Keys, below Fleet Conduit, was, in 1660, the house of Major Alsop, a sword cutler; 1685-90, Francis Sedgwick, goldsmith; 1694, Thomas Heath, a silkman, and, in 1703, Hammersley, a linen draper.

Black Oliphant [*i.e.*, Elephant], a little above the Conduit. In 1571 Henry Wykes printed here, and, in 1582, H. Cocken, a bookseller.

Lucretia Romana, or *Lucreece*, near the Conduit, was the shop of Thomas Berthelet, the King's Printer, from 1528-1555; in 1556 Thomas Powell; 1557, Henry Wykes; and, in 1571, Ralph Newbery, a printer; and was then called *Lucreece*.

Saynt John the Euangelyst, beneath the Conduit, west of Shoe Lane. From 1521-1527 John Boteler, a printer, was there; 1540-1578, Thomas Colwell; and, 1576-1582, Hugh Jackson, both also printers.

Duke of Marlborough's Head, by Shoe Lane. *British Apollo*, March 20, 1710, advertises all sorts of wonders,

monsters, dwarfs, &c.: A Pecary much admired by the learned; a Posom from the West Indies, having a false belly to secure her young ones from any danger, she running up a tree and hanging by her tail till her enemies are gone.

At the *Duke of Marlborough's Head*, in the great room, is to be seen the famous Posture Master of Europe, who far exceeds the deceased Posture Masters Clark and Higgins: He extends his body into all deform'd shapes; makes his Hip and Shoulder bones meet together; lays his Head upon the Ground, and turns his body round twice or thrice, without stirring his face from the Place; stands upon one Leg, and extends the other in a perpendicular line half a yard above his head; and extends his Body from a Table, with his Head a Foot below his Heels, having nothing to balance his Body but his Feet. With several other Postures too tedious to mention. Likewise a child of about 9 years of age that shews such postures as never were seen performed by one of his age. Also the famous English Artist, who turns his Balls into living Birds and takes an empty Bag, which after being turned, trod, and stampt on, produces some Hundreds of Eggs, and at last a living Hen. Side Boxes 2/-, Pit 1/- To be performed at 6 a Clock every Evening. (*Spectator*, January 8, 1712.)

Duke of Marlborough's Head. A managerie at the *Duke of Marlborough's Head* in Fleet St. is now to be seen a invented machine composed of 5 curious pictures, with moving figures, representing the history of the heathen gods, w^{ch} move artificially as if living the like not seen before in Europe. The whole contains near 100 figures besides ships, Beasts, Fish, Fowle and other Embellishments some near a foot in height; all of which have their respective and peculiar motions, their very Heads, Legs, Arms, Hands and fingers Artificially moving to what they perform, setting one foot before another like living creatures in such a manner that nothing but nature it self can excel it. It will continue to be seen every day from 10 in the morn^g 'till 10 at night. The Prices 1s./6^d., and the lowest 6^d. (*The Spectator*, September 27, 1711.)

Here, in 1718, De Hightrehight, the fire-eater, ate

burning coals, swallowed flaming brimstone, and sucked a red-hot poker five times a day!

Dial, next the *Castle Tavern*, south-west corner of Shoe Lane. 1698, Martin, a watchmaker, lived here. In 1714 the business was conducted by George Etherington.

Castle Tavern was the south-west corner of Shoe Lane. It was first mentioned in 1432. The Clockmakers' Company held its meetings here, before the Great Fire, as early as 1631, they having no Hall of their own. The proprietor issued a farthing token. In 1708 it boasted of the largest sign board in London.

White Lyon and Crown, near Wine Office Court. 1692, Mrs. Lees, a milliner.

Raven, near Wine Office Court. George Ferne, seedsman and netmaker, called the original seed and net warehouse, was here from 1756–1764.

White Hart, over against Water Lane. 1694, Mrs. Clarke, a milliner.

Printing Press, against Water Lane, where I. Mayo printed and sold the paper called *The British Apollo* in 1711.

Hen and Chickens, over against Water Lane. 1686, Nathaniel Turner, linen draper.

Grocers' Company's Arms, next door to Hinde Court. Thomas Cordin issued a halfpenny token (*see* Boyne).

Mr. Barnebies Antipestilential Powder which he received from the author of it, Dr. Whitaker, to be burnt into a fume, being already approved upon tryal by several attestations to be of singular effect; is to be sold by . . . Mr. Cordwin next door to Hinde Court, Fleet Street. (*The Intelligencer*, No. 61, August 7, 1665.)

In 1675 Maydwell, an oilman, was here.

Falcon, between Bolt Court and the Conduit. 1660, George Sedley, a saddler of the Livery. In 1676 he advertised seeds.

Three Kings, opposite Bolt and Tun. In 1662 an advertisement appeared in the *Mercurius Publicus* concerning a lordship that was to be sold. Further particulars were to be had within. In 1664 John Ashton issued a farthing token.

Dial and One Crown, opposite *Bolt and Tun*. Thomas

Madge, the watchmaker, was here about 1752. He made Dr. Johnson's first watch in 1768.

George, Red Lyon Court. 1678, Robert Petit.

Castle Tavern, corner of Fetter Lane. This is the second of the name. In 1717 it was kept by Mrs. Shackleton.

King's Arms, next the *Leg Tavern*, which was at the corner of Two Cranes Court. In 1737 a bookseller, name J. Mechell, kept shop there. The following is his curious advertisement which appeared in the *London Evening Post*:—

“ *Next Saturday will be published,*

“ *The Alchymist*; or, Weekly Laboratory; in which, by the Secrets of the Hermetick Art, will be made an exact Analysis of the different Principles which compose those Sorts of Mixts, call'd Weekly (and other) Papers. The several Letters of which will be put into the Alembick, in order to draw from them the Phlegm figur'd by the Velleities which may be contain'd therein. The Spirit will be metaphorically represented by the Solidity and Strength of Reasoning, as well as Proof; the Oil by the Elegancy and Beauty of the Stile; the Sal Volatile, by the Brightness and Subtilty of its Points; and lastly, the Caput Mortuum, by the Nonsense, Contradictions, Incoherences, &c.

“ Foreign and Domestic News will also be put to the Crucible, to purge them of those Heterogeneous Bodies which frequently disguise them, insomuch that it becomes almost impossible for the Reader to discover the real and genuine Substance.

“ Religion itself will not escape the Hands of the Artist, it being his Design to put it pretty often to the Coppel, to free it, if possible, from those Impurities it may have gather'd in passing thro' the various Matrixes since its first Institution.

“ N.B. He will likewise be provided with Sublimatory Vessels, thro' which will pass the greatest Part of the Advertisements.

“ Printed by J. Mechell, at the King's-Arms, next the Leg-Tavern in Fleet-street.”

Leg Tavern, east end of Fetter Lane, corner of Two Cranes Court. 1712, Mr. Whitum, hosier.

Ship, 1724, a watchmaker's.

King's Head, end of Fetter Lane. In 1685 John Wells, upholsterer; 1694, John Nowland, tobacconist, and, in 1721, Thomas Butler, a bookseller, was there.

Blackamoor, over against Serjeant's Inn. 1726: There is now preparing for the Press a *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1641*. Whoever has any papers relating to the subject of the *History*, it is hoped he will be so kind as to communicate them direct to the Editor.

The following are near St. Dunstan's Church:—

The Three Pattins, between Fetter Lane and St. Dunstan's Church. 1692, Mr. Morrel.

Three Golden Balls, near St. Dunstan's Church. 1672, Mr. Townsend, a tobacconist.

Rose and Crown, corner of St. Dunstan's. 1711–1718, Mrs. Osborn, toy shop. She sold waters for the King's Evil.

Prince Eugene's Head.

Princes' Arms. 1556–1587, Thomas Marsh, printer and bookseller. He printed Stow's *Chronicle*. In 1587 he was succeeded by Henry Marshe.

Bull's Head Tavern. 1656, John Bryan issued a farthing token in 1667 (Boyne). 1683–7, Mr. Sedgewick.

Palm Tree. 1660, William Palmer, bookseller.

Kings' Arms, next the Church. In 1661 Philemon Stephens, a bookseller, was here, and, in 1692, another bookseller named Thomas Salisbury. Mr. Kenton, a goldsmith keeping running cashes, is described as being here in the *Little London Directory*, 1677. In 1712 we find a tea man kept the shop, and we read in the *Post Boy* that the very best coffee was sold here at 5s. 8d. the Pound, the very best Bohee Tea at 18s. the Pound and very good at 14s. the Pound. The very best green tea at 14s. the Pound and very good at 10s. the pound, &c.

“Winpenny & Co. at the King's Arms Office St. Dunstan's Church, beg leave to acquaint the public that they have still a supply of Museum Lottery tickets in a great variety of numbers, that the state of the wheel is now more in favour of the adventurers than the first day of drawing. N.B.—Tickets and shares in the State Lottery sold by receipt and all business regarding the same transacted with the utmost fidelity.” (*London Chronicle*, June 10, 1775.)

Golden Hart. 1696, Francis Clark, goldsmith. He was also described as of the *Golden Buck*.

Golden Ball, between the Church and Chancery Lane. 1675–78, Thomas Burrell, bookseller; 1729, I. Isted. He succeeded R. Crouch, also a bookseller; he sold Patent Medicines and advertised a cure for the stone.

Glass-Sellers' Arms, corner of the Church. 1737, Benjamin Payne, chinaman. He also sold tea.

Comb, first met with in 1709. Mr. Stephens sold an original Japan plaister for curing corns here in 1730.

Artichoke, next to Church. 1685, W. Freeman, a bookseller; in 1719 it was the shop of Thomas Johnson, hosier.

Cock and Sugar Loaf. 1677–80, James Wade, a bookseller, was here; in 1678 Mrs. Matthews, a sempstress, lived here.

George, near Clifford's Inn. In 1493–1527 Richard Pynson, printer, was here; 1525–1547, William Middleton; 1529–1540, Robert Redman; 1540, Elizabeth Pickering, formerly Redman; 1556, William Powell—all printers. In 1655 Thomas Dring was selling books at the *George*; 1662–1692, Thomas Bassett, bookseller. His apprentice, Jacob Tonson, lived here some time.

St. Dunstan's Coffee House, 1692–1700.

St. Dunstan's Parish. An account of an artful fraud called guinea dropping was written in the *Post Boy*, September 8, 1698.

Ink Bottle, Clifford's Inn Gate. Christopher Coningsby sold books here from 1702–9.

Clifford's Inn Coffee House. 1689–90: Tickets for the Yorkshire Feast, to be held at Merchant Taylors Hall on February 14, were sold here.

Globe and Sun, between St. Dunstan's and Chancery Lane. 1732, Richard Cushee, globe maker.

Flying Horse Court, near *King's Head Tavern* near Chancery Lane.

Flying Horse. Dan Major sold the *Little London Directory* here in 1677–9; John Gay published many ballads from this sign in 1680; George Purefoy, a haberdasher, was here from 1673–1686; and, in 1693, John Watts, a picture seller.

Golden Perrinwig, corner of Chancery Lane.

Jessamine Tree and Snuffing Gentleman, near the *King's Head Tavern* near Chancery Lane. In 1682 James Norcock sold all sorts of snuff.

Tobacco Roll, near Chancery Lane. 1678, Mrs. Howse, a grocer.

Daniel's Coffee House, between Chancery Lane and Temple Bar. Auctions took place there in 1737.

Golden Fleece, over against Inner Temple Gate. 1693, Richard Southby, bookseller.

Whyte Lyon, against the Temple. 1671, Thomas Dring, bookseller; from 1679–1702, John Jackson, hosier.

City of Seville, over against Inner Temple Gate. 1705–1711, Dighton, Her Majesty's perfumer.

Queen's Head Tavern, over against Middle Temple Gate. Mr. Pierson, goldsmith. In 1691 he advertised for a green spleen stone which was lost to be brought to him here; he lived next door.



From the bill-head of William Garsed, haberdasher, at the *Acorn* on Ludgate Hill. 1760.

Acorn. Richard Pierson was carrying on a goldsmith's trade here from 1672–1712. He was succeeded by Edward Pierson, who failed about 1730. In 1688 he is described as being at the *Acorn*, next door to the *Queen's Head Tavern*, over against the Temple.

Bell, over against Middle Temple Gate. Abel Roper, bookseller, in 1689, kept shop here, and, in 1671, Jo. Leigh, bookseller.

Bible, against Middle Temple Gate. 1674, Henry Million; 1692–1709, William Freeman, bookseller.

Pheasant, Temple Bar. 1680, Mrs. Grace Bland.

Hand and Pen, near Temple Bar. 1691, Thomas Beaver, bookseller.

Dryden's Head, Temple Bar. 1737, Warner, bookseller.

Angel, near Temple Bar. 1692, Parker, a goldsmith.

Judge's Head, opposite *Dick's*. 1737, Thomas Worrall, bookseller. He removed from the *Judge's Head*, opposite to St. Dunstan's, to this house.

White Bear, Bell Yard, 1682.

Horns and Harrow, Bell Yard. 1677, Lawrence.

Bell Inn, Bell Yard. 1672, David Bland.

Civet Cat, a few doors from Bell Yard. 1664, Mr. Boadsworth was here, and advertised for a lost negro boy. In 1665 another advertisement appeared in the *Intelligencer*, May 1, to the effect that a negro boy with a cross on his forehead, about twelve years old, speaking Spanish indifferently well and English good, was lost; had been missing about a month. Application to be made to Mr. Rowlett at this sign. 1696, Edmund Bolesworth advertised for a silver hilted sword and grey gelding!

Black Swan, near Temple Bar.

Three Tun Tavern, within Temple Bar. 1704, Abraham Isdell, vintner.

Three Golden Lions, near Temple Bar. 1695–1712, John Lund, a goldsmith.

Queen's Head and Rose, near Temple Bar.

Trumpet, Sheer Lane or Shire Lane, near Temple Bar, 1696.

The following is a list of those signs which I have not been able to localise to any particular part of the street:—

Angel and Crown. From 1696–1714 John Jackson, a goldsmith, lived here, and probably before this date. He offered a reward in the *Post Boy*, February 12, 1713, for the apprehension of his runaway apprentice, and there described his house as being over against the *Whitehorse Inn*.

Bell and Ball. 1677, Thomas Savage, a woollen draper; 1685–1693, Purley, a woollen draper.

Bird in Hand. In 1665, in the *News* of April 27, 1665, Ambrose Mead, a goldsmith, inserted the following:—A gold watch made by Benjamin Hill in black case studded with gold, with a double chain and the key on a single chain with a knob of steel upon it, was lost and notice was to be given to Mr. Mead at this sign.

Black Dog. 1675, James Gover, an apothecary. *London Gazette*, March 27, 1676: “Lost from the Black Dog in Fleet Street a little spout silver tankard, a Cawdle cup, a cup with two ears, a little candlestick, a silver thimble, two money boxes &c. with Three pounds five shillings in money and Linnen and laces &c. Whoever

gives notice that the things may be had again to the Black Dog in Fleet Street near Fetter Lane, shall have forty shillings reward." In 1698 J. Bradley called the sign the *Derby Ale House*.

Black Boy and Comb was a toy shop in 1721.

Black Spread Eagle. 1642, Alice Norton printed here for Humphry Tuckey or Tucker. In 1664 Tucker himself was here, and sold "Alexacarius or Spirits or Salts," prepared by Constantine Rodocares."

Blue Anchor. 1711, Thomas Burgess, a druggist.

Blew Bell. In 1678 J. L., a printer of the following Broadside: "Proclamation promoted or an Hue and Cry and Inquisition after Treason and Blood: upon the inhumane and horrid murder of the noble Knight, Impartial Justice of the Peace and Zealous Protestant Sir Edmond-berry Godfrey of Westminster. An Hasty Poem. O Murder! Murder! let this shriek fly around, Till Hills and Dales and Rocks and shores rebound."

Blew Boar. 1675, Thomas Rogers, upholsterer; 1691-6, Mr. Farmers.

Blue Garland. 1541, John Wayland, printer.

Blew Star. 1675, Thomas Rogers, upholsterer. This is a strange coincidence, as at the same date he was at the *Blew Boar*.

Book and Wheatsheaf. 1697, Richard Rooke.

Boyle's Head. 1735, John Whiston, bookseller.

Britannia Tavern. 1699.

Buck and Sun. (See *Golden Buck*, No. 53.)

Bunch of Grapes. 1714, Gregory, a silkman.

Cabinet. 1693, Thomas Heath, silkman.

Cowpe on the Hoope. This was a brewhouse belonging to the celebrated Sir William Sevenoaks, Lord Mayor of London, in 1418, who was a foundling of Sevenoaks.

Le Crane on the Hoop, St. Dunstan's Parish. 1435, Thomas Knolles, senior, grocer. This brewery he left to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

Crown and Dial, sometimes called the *Crown* or the *Golden Crown*, between 1676-1703 was occupied by Robert T. Halstead, a goldsmith.

Crown. Halstead (see *ante*).

Crown and Fox. 1692, John Reynolds, upholsterer.

Dial and Mitre. 1710.

Dog and Ball. 1703, Merrick, a distiller.

Drake. 1710, Humphrys.

Eagle and Child. 1648.

Faulcon Coffee House. 1683.

Fleece. 1692, Richard Southey, bookseller.

Fig Tree. 1691, Henry Smith, grocer.

Five Bells Tavern. 1690, Mr. Lavender.

Fourdelys (Fleur de Lys), a tavern. 1396, John Walworth, vintner, bequeathed this leasehold tavern to Richard Jancox, charged with the maintenance of a conduit which the testator had erected in Fleet Street. (Cal. of Wills, Ct. of Husting.)

Fox and Crown. 1678, John Reynolds. He advertised for a runaway lad in the *London Gazette*, which is as follows: "A young man aged about 18 of a well set body, broad faced, short dark brown hair somewhat curling, his countenance smiling, legs large, with calves bending outwards, a stooping gate, toes bending inwards, a little limping in his feet, his cloaths of a sad colour, cloath new, went away from his Master the 8th Instant designing for Sea. His relations earnestly desire his return; Whoso can be assistant therein and send notice to John Reynolds at the Fox and Crown in Fleet Street, shall receive full satisfaction for their care and trouble."

Garden of St. Andrew's Cross on the Hoop. 1416.

Golden Snail. 1734, James Brooker.

Golden Sun. 1493-1534, Wynkyn de Worde, printer.

Golden Tun. 1594, Winnington, bookseller and publisher.

Grasshopper. 1699, Henry Smith, linen draper.

Grayhound Tavern. 1685, William Bold advertised for a Port Mantle, containing books and writings taken from the *Oxford Arms Inn*.

Hand and Plough. 1594, Mattes, bookseller and publisher.

Harry's Coffee House. 1740, Mr. Davies, the vintner, died at the age of 110 years.

Hat and Bever. 1677, William Ward, haberdasher of hats.

Helmet. 1692-7, Metcalfe, upholsterer.

Horace's Head. White, the bookseller, lived here.

Horse Shoe and Star. 1815.

Jerusalem. 1657, Andrew Grace issued a farthing token.

King's Arms and Key. 1737, C. Mosley, engraver.

Kings and Keys Tavern. 1838. Probably an abbreviation for *Three Kings and Cross Keys.*

Lion. About 1660 a farthing token was issued of this house.

Lion's Head. Erected 1713.

The Lock and Key. Praise God Barebone was a leatherseller at this sign. He let his house to a man named Speight; it was destroyed in the Fire of London, and rebuilt.

Lord Bacon's Head. 1756, L. Davis, bookseller.

Nag's Head. 1675, Mr. Warneford.

Naked Boy. 1689–1693, Samuel Newington, woollen draper.

Old Lute. 1676, Charles Lingwood.

Phoenix, 1685. In 1705, Chorley, glass-seller.

Plough, a hatter's sign. On February 28, 1659–60, Pepys, with Will: Howe, went here to buy a hat.

Pope's Head. 1678, Simon Lince, woollen draper.

Prince of Wales's Feathers. Thomas Tickner issued a farthing token about 1660.

Red Cross. 1706, Preston Duncan, druggist.

Red Lyon, against the *Greyhound Tavern.* 1696, Mr. Terry, stationer.

Rook and Wheatsheaf. 1695, Richard Rooke.

Rose, near the *Globe Tavern.* 1763, S. Garraway, seedsman.

Rose Garland. 1508–1547, Robert Copland, printer, an assistant of Caxton; 1553–1569, William Copland, bookseller and printer. Juliana Berner's *Booke of Hawking, Hunting and Fyshing* was printed by him.

Saracen's Head. 1675, Roger Williams, draper.

Shakespeare's Head. 1760, J. Curtis, bookseller.

Sheffield's Coffee House. 1700, book auctions were held here.

Snail. 1721, Watts, a goldsmith.

Sun Tavern (between Fetter Lane and Shoe Lane). Lewis Willson issued a halfpenny token; he was here from 1661–1665.

Swan Tavern, 1687.

Three Bells. 1732, Richard Bristow, a goldsmith, adver-

tised that he sold and delivered Bristol, Pancras and Bath water to any part of the town.

Three Crowns. 1687, Thomas Fownes ; 1720, Ed. Fazerley, linen draper.

Three Hats. The proprietor issued a token in 1665.

Three Nuns. John Harward issued a farthing token.

Turk's Head. 1698, Brodrapp, haberdasher of hats.

Two Kings and Key. 1694.

Whale. 1705, Charles Whaley, druggist. He also sold chocolate.

Whitehorse. 1719, Thomas Burgess and Seth Lothouse, goldsmiths.

Whitehorse and Bell. 1729, John Waler, brazier and ironmonger. He removed to the same sign in Cheapside. He invented a clock lamp. (See picture of sign in *Craftsman*, October 11, 1729.)

Whitehorse Inn. 1685-1691. Thomas Mahew advertised this house to be let in 1691. In 1711 we read there was a very good coach to be sold a Pennyworth ; enquire within. The Blandford Flying coach started from here in 1742, and took two days to do the journey.

Having now exhausted my store of the Fleet Street signs, it only remains for me to thank you for the patience you have evinced in listening to this somewhat lengthy paper, which has given me much pleasure to prepare. The history of many of the houses has been necessarily curtailed, as they have been more fully described elsewhere by various authors, myself amongst the number. It will be seen from this what a favourite street this has always been for the printer and bookseller, there having been a preponderating majority of them over all other trades, and, as far as the former is concerned, exists at the present day, as I presume there are more printing presses in Fleet Street and its neighbourhood than in any other part of the Metropolis.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING AT SCARBOROUGH, JULY 16TH TO JULY 23RD, 1895.

Tuesday, July 16th.

At noon, His Worship the Mayor of Scarborough (Alderman VALENTINE FOWLER) and the members of the Corporation received the members of the Institute at the Court House.

HIS WORSHIP said it was at once a pleasure and a privilege to offer to those present, on behalf of the inhabitants of Scarborough, a cordial welcome to this old borough. He considered that Scarborough was honoured by being selected for the annual meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute. Unfortunately, as they were aware, Scarborough was in the throes of a Parliamentary election, and he very much regretted that this event should clash with their interesting gathering. This coincidence certainly suggested thoughts of the contrast between the election proceedings of to-day and the mode of election which prevailed several hundred years ago; for Scarborough, as it was well known, was one of the ancient boroughs which sent representatives to the earliest of English Parliaments. Now, in those ancient times, instead of the elaborate arrangements and widespread excitement of to-day, the whole thing was comfortably settled by the Corporation, who had the exclusive choice of the Parliamentary representatives of this ancient loyal borough. He made no comment in the way of comparison between the two modes of election, but simply pointed to this interesting historical fact. In looking over the programme of the proceedings he observed that it embraced a wide and interesting district, rich in objects that would, he was sure, be interesting to them all. He could only express the hope that the weather might be propitious, that their meetings, discussions, and excursions might be attended with abundant pleasure and success, and that everyone would thoroughly enjoy their visit to the good old town of Scarborough. His Worship concluded by saying that he now had the pleasure of handing over the chair to the President of the Institute.

THE PRESIDENT (Viscount Dillon), after thanking the Mayor for his kind welcome, introduced HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK as President of the Meeting. His Grace then proceeded to deliver his inaugural address, which is printed at p. 283. VISCOUNT DILLON moved, and the MAYOR seconded, a vote of thanks to the Archbishop for his address. A vote of thanks was also passed to the Mayor on the motion of Prof. BOYD DAWKINS, seconded by the Rev. SIR TALBOT BAKER, BART.

In the afternoon the members inspected the fine church of St. Mary under the guidance of the Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF HULL, who gave

an interesting account of the building. From the church the party proceeded to the Castle, which was described by Mr. J. W. WALKER, F.S.A., one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

In the evening the Historical Section was to have been opened by the President, SIR GEORGE SITWELL, Bart., F.S.A., with a paper on "History and the State," but owing to the Election this paper had to be postponed. Mr. F. HAVERFIELD, F.S.A., read a paper on "Roman Yorkshire." This paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*. Mr. R. C. HOPE, F.S.A., read some notes on "Ancient Scarborough," and by the aid of the large Ordnance Survey maps pointed out the sites of the walls and bars and of the destroyed churches and religious houses, as well as the former positions of the crosses that marked the places of the various markets.

Wednesday, July 17th,

At 10.30 a.m. the members proceeded by train to Bridlington Station, where carriages were in readiness to convey the party to the Priory Church. Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE pointed out that the existing building was but the nave of a magnificent church originally some 380 feet long, of which the choir, transepts, and central tower formed the church of a priory of Black Canons, established in an existing parish church of St. Mary in or about 1120, while the nave with its two western towers had always served as the parish church. At the suppression of the priory in 1538, all the eastern part, as well as the monastic buildings, had been swept away, but from a survey then made, which described them with unusual detail together with their dimensions, Mr. Hope indicated on a plan their probable sites and extent. The existing nave, which has been preserved because it was and is the parish church, is a building of the first rank. It is, nevertheless, very little known or studied. Mr. Hope showed that the south wall alone retained traces of its Norman character, the north wall, with a most beautiful porch, being of the thirteenth century, while the arcades and upper works were of the Decorated period, though not all of one date. The original design had nevertheless been followed, even in the three western bays of the south side which had been rebuilt in the fifteenth century with the south-west tower. Passing round the exterior, Mr. Hope called attention to the architectural features, and pointed out the traces of the cloister, and of the prior's lodge to the west of it, on the south side of the nave. After an inspection of the fine late Decorated gatehouse, which is still in a very perfect state, the party adjourned to lunch at the Alexandra Hotel. At two o'clock the carriages were again drawn up, and a move was made to Burton Agnes. Here the church, an interesting building of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with a later tower and modern chancel, was described by Mr. JOHN BILSON, F.S.A., who also pointed out the leading features of a fine series of tombs of the Somerville and Griffith families in the south chapel. LORD DILLON commented on the unusually poor character of the alabaster effigy of Sir Walter Griffith (*ob.* 1481), which he described as resembling a mere body covered with closely-fitting armour of an

utterly unpractical character. Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE called attention to the fine series of statuettes of saints placed round the tomb, several of which were now visible after a long series of years through the removal of a large slab which had until recently concealed them, and had been obligingly removed by the rector, Archdeacon Palmes, to enable the members of the Institute to see them. Passing the remains of the twelfth century subvault of the old hall of the Somervilles, Mr. BILSON conducted the party to the front of Burton Agnes Hall, a most splendid and perfect Elizabethan mansion, built by Sir Henry Griffith during the first few years of the seventeenth century. Over the porch door is the date 1601, while the lead-down pipes bear the Griffith badges and the dates 1602 and 1603. By the kindness of Sir Henry Boynton, Bart., the principal parts were thrown open for inspection, including the hall with its magnificent carved screen and chimney-piece, the staircase, a bedroom on the first floor with splendid moulded plaster ceiling, and the long gallery with the remains of moulded plaster-work of unusual excellence and beauty.

In the evening Professor BORD DAWKINS, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., opened the Antiquarian Section with an address on "Prehistoric Man in Yorkshire." This paper is printed at p. 336.

Thursday, July 18th.

The party proceeded by special train to Whitby, where, after luncheon, the ruins of the great Benedictine Abbey and the parish church were visited. The Rev. CANON ATKINSON described the remains of the abbey. The only parts now left are the magnificent Early English choir and north transept of the church, together with the outer wall of the north aisle and part of the west front. Until 1763, when the nave fell with a crash during a great storm, the church, though roofless, was practically almost perfect; but since the further fall of the central tower in 1830, it has been reduced to a battered and weather-worn ruin. From the abbey the party proceeded to the parish church, which was described by the vicar, Canon AUSTEN, as the most extraordinary building of the kind in the country. Originally a Norman structure consisting of chancel and nave with slightly later transepts and western tower, it had been enlarged northwards in the eighteenth century, and the nave practically converted into a large room. This had then been filled in every possible direction by pews and tiers of galleries, which were lighted by regular cabin skylights in the roof, the whole of the work being aptly described by the vicar as that of ships' carpenters. Mr. Micklethwaite agreed with what had already been suggested by Mr. St. John Hope, that the parishioners had no doubt removed to the present site from an earlier church which had been taken possession of by the monks on their return to Whitby about 1100. He also called attention to the remains of some interesting seventeenth century fittings, including an elaborately carved gallery (carried by twisted columns) that occupied the place of the roofloft, and a considerable number of excellent oak pews. The majority of these are the "free seats," or "for strangers," those formerly occupied by

parishioners having been subsequently replaced by baize-lined pens or tanks of larger dimensions and more comfortable character.

The Antiquarian Section met in the evening. Dr. W. STEPHENSON read a paper on "Beverley in the Olden Times." This paper is printed at p. 271. Mr. J. R. MORTIMER read a paper on "The Origin of some lines of small pits on Allerston and Ebberston Moors, near Scamridge Dykes, in the neighbourhood of Scarborough." This paper is printed at p. 266.

Friday, July 19th.

At 10.30 a.m. the members proceeded by train to Beverley, where a visit was first made to the church of St. Mary. Mr. J. BILSON, F.S.A., fully described the building, pointing out it was originally a mere chapel of ease that served the parochial district attached to the altar of St. Martin in the Minster; but by degrees it was enriched by the gifts of various parishioners, and by a natural process of growth eventually reached its present architectural importance. By the aid of a specially-prepared plan Mr. Bilson showed that from some existing remains it was clear that the church in Norman times consisted merely of a chancel, central tower, and a nave without aisles. There may also have been transepts. In the thirteenth century the transepts were built, or rebuilt, and aisles added to the nave; and at a somewhat later date a large chapel was built above a vaulted chancel or "bone hole" on the east side of the north transept. Early in the fourteenth century the enlargement and reconstruction of the chancel were begun, but stopped halfway by the Black Death in 1349. When work was resumed the chancel with its beautiful north aisle was finished, and followed in the next century by the rebuilding of the arcades and clearstory of the nave and of the south porch. In 1520 the tower fell and wrecked the nave, which was quickly rebuilt on the old lines and with much of the old masonry, mostly by subscription, as appeared by the quaint legends in English and Latin on the labels of the north arcade.

After luncheon a move was made for the Minster, where Mr. BILSON again acted as demonstrator, pointing out its architectural history and the beautiful details and furniture. He especially called attention to the remarkable way in which, as at Westminster and Bridlington the later Decorated builders had carried on as closely as possible the design of their Early English predecessors, the chief differences being the disuse of marble and the change in the section of the mouldings. Before leaving the Minster, Mr. R. C. HOPE described the fine series of musical instruments borne by the figures of angels, &c., between the arches of the nave.

In the evening Mr. J. WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., opened the Architectural Section with an address on "Mediæval and Renaissance Libraries." Mr. Clark began with a short discussion upon the libraries of the Romans, whose methods of keeping books largely influenced the mediæval world. Mr. Clark proceeded to trace the methods adopted by the Monastic Orders. These, he showed, probably at first kept their books in the church, afterwards in presses in the cloister, and later on, when the books had grown into large

libraries, in a special room built for the purpose. Examples in illustration were cited. In the cathedral churches the library was usually over one side of the cloister, as at Salisbury, Wells, and Lincoln. The libraries of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were next described, and it was shown that they were being built in the fifteenth century, along with the monastic libraries and those of the cathedral churches. Mr. Clark next passed to the furniture of these rooms, which he argued was probably of uniform design. The first form of bookcase was an elongated lectern placed at right angles to the wall between the windows, so that readers might have plenty of light to read the books that were chained to it. Splendid isolated examples remain at Lincoln, and a whole library of them at Zutphen. Owing to the large space they occupied, these lecterns were replaced by open bookcases with two shelves on each side, like those at Merton College, which were made in 1365, and served as the model for collegiate libraries in Oxford generally. From contemporary documents it was clear that like bookcases were in use at Cîteaux, Clairvaux, and Canterbury. The modern system of placing shelves against a wall was first adopted at the Escorial in 1584, and introduced into England by Wren at Lincoln in 1675. At Trinity College, Cambridge, Mr. Clark showed, Wren ingeniously combined the ancient and modern methods by dividing the library into what he terms "cells" or places of study, formed of bookcases against the walls, and others at right angles to them.

The paper was illustrated by some seventy lantern slides.

Saturday, July 20th.

At 10 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the large room of the Royal Hotel. Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A., Vice President, in the chair. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and adopted. The Chairman then called upon the Hon. Secretary to read the report for the past year.

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1894-95.

In presenting their fifty-second annual report the Council would recall the circumstances alluded to last year, and to the changes then in progress for managing the affairs of the Institute. The consequences of these changes have placed the finances for the year in the better position as represented in the preceding statement of account. There are no outstanding liabilities, and the balance in favour of the Institute is £67 2s. 9d. The costs connected with the production of the *Journal*, including the third part (September) of Volume LI, have been paid. All official services have been performed gratuitously. Some disappointment may be felt that there is no increase in the number of annual subscribers, who supply the income requisite for management, but it is hoped that the present members will aid here by inducing their friends to join. The Institute offers great advantages for seeing the whole of England, and the presence of mutual friends at the annual meeting must greatly add to the pleasures of that time.

The duties of Honorary Secretary, performed for the past two years by Mr. Mill Stephenson, have been interrupted by his resignation in March last, to the great regret of the Council. He accepted office with the distinct understanding that the position could only be temporary as with fair certainty he would be unable to devote the necessary time to the work. The thanks of the Council and of all the members are due to him. In order to retain such services as he can render he has been elected to fill a vacancy on the Council. The office of Secretary has been filled by the election of Mr. A. H. Lyell.

During the year we have suffered loss by the deaths of Precentor Edmund Venables and Sir John Maclean. Mr. Venables was well known to most of us, as he so regularly attended and aided our annual meetings. At Lincoln he gave his strong assistance and watchful care to the preservation of the Roman remains constantly discovered in that city. Sir John Maclean, although an old member, has not been seen for some time by reason of his age, but his papers and contributions to archaeology will be remembered.

The members of the Council retiring by rotation are:—Rev. Sir Talbot B. Baker, Bart.; Mr. G. E. Fox; Mr. R. Wright Taylor; Mr. Justice Pinhey; Rev. R. Blakiston; and Rev. F. Spurrell. It is proposed that Sir Talbot Baker, Bart., be a Vice President; that Mr. Fox, Mr. Wright Taylor, Mr. Justice Pinhey, and Mr. Spurrell be re-elected; and that Mr. Archibald Day be added to the Council. It is further proposed that Mr. Talfourd Ely, M.A., F.S.A., be elected auditor for the ensuing year, in the place of Mr. Day.

Finally, your Council has to report circumstances which do not belong to 1894, but so affect the position of affairs for 1895 as to require immediate notice. In the month of June now just past it was discovered that the person who for some years has been employed as clerk had been perpetrating frauds and had also suppressed the *Journal* and the usual notices, and also the correspondence. It is believed, after a careful examination, that the loss in money will not much exceed £50, but your Council cannot but express extreme vexation at a misfortune which tends to nullify much of the labour so recently bestowed in arranging the financial position of the Institute.

On the motion of the Rev. T. AUDEN, seconded by Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE, the report was adopted.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the balance sheet (printed at p. 402).

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, the balance sheet was adopted. Several new members were elected, and some discussion arose as to the place of meeting for next year. Eventually it was left in the hands of the Council.

At 11 a.m. a meeting of the Antiquarian Section was held. Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A., read a paper on "A Cistercian Day" as illustrated by the "Customs" of the Order. This was followed by a paper by Mr. H RYE on "The Building Stones and Canals of Rievaulx Abbey."

After luncheon the members proceeded by train to Malton and in carriages to Old Malton, where Mr. MICKLETHWAITE described the beautiful Transitional nave of the Gilbertine Priory, still used, as always, as the parish church. He also briefly sketched the pecu-

liarities of the Gilbertine Order. Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE pointed out that Old Malton had always been a house of canons only, and there were, therefore, no traces of the remarkable double arrangement discovered by him at Watton Priory, which was a double house of nuns who followed the Cistercian rule and of canons who acted as chaplains and followed the rule of St. Austin. The journey was then resumed to Kirkham, where the beautiful gatehouse and other fragments of the once wealthy priory of Black Canons were demonstrated by Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE, who described the results of excavations made by him on the sites of the church and monastic buildings. Certain peculiarities of plan and abnormal arrangements, caused by the priory being built on sloping ground, gave rise to some interesting discussion.

Monday, July 22nd.

At 9 a.m. the members proceeded by train to Helmsley, thence by carriages to Rievaulx Abbey. A brief halt was made at the famous terrace to allow the party to enjoy the beautiful view of the Abbey. Proceeding down the hill, and passing the "chapel without the gate," and through the remains of the Abbey gatehouse, the party reassembled in the middle of the ruined church. Here Mr. MICKLETHWAITE gave a brief outline of the general features of a Cistercian abbey, as illustrated by the remains at Rievaulx. A short shower unfortunately interrupted the demonstrator and drove the party to shelter; but there still remained time for an examination of the frater and remnants of the infirmary. The party then again returned to the church, where Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE pointed out the changes in the treatment of the vaulting shafts, which showed how the north transept and eastern bays of the presbytery had been built before the old Norman presbytery was removed; then how the new work was joined up to the central tower and carried round the south transept. Mr. Hope also indicated the positions of various altars, screens, and images, and other features as described in a survey of the abbey taken after the Suppression. After a cordial vote of thanks to the Earl of Feversham, who expressed his pleasure at again seeing the Institute at Rievaulx, the members returned to Helmsley, passing on the way the remains of the ancient canals by which the building materials were brought to the abbey.

After luncheon a visit was paid to the ruins of Helmsley Castle, where the remarkable series of earthworks and ditches, the late Norman keep, and other buildings were described by Mr. J. W. WALKER, F.S.A.

At the Section in the evening papers were read by Mr. J. BILSON, F.S.A., on "Recent Discoveries at the East End of the Cathedral Church at Durham," and by the Rev. CANON ATKINSON on "The Progressive or Expansional Significance of Ancient Place Names." Canon Atkinson's paper is printed at p. 253.

Tuesday, July 23rd.

At 9 a.m. the members proceeded by train to Pickering, thence driving to Lastingham, where Mr. J. BILSON, F.S.A., described the

remarkable Early Norman church. No traces, except isolated sculptured stones, now remain of the Saxon church that formerly stood here, but, as Mr. Bilson showed, the existing structure is clearly the apsidal aisleless presbytery with crypt beneath, and the crossing of a monastic church begun here by certain Whitby monks in 1078. The monks left for York in 1088, and then their uncompleted building was converted into a parish church, aisles and subsequently a western tower being added to it. In 1879 a complete "restoration" was carried out by Mr. Pearson, who added the stone vaults over the nave and chancel, in consequence, it is said, of the discovery of traces of their former existence.

The party then returned to Pickering, and after an interval for luncheon reassembled in the inner ward of the castle, where Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE gave an account of this remarkable fortress. It is, briefly, a pear-shaped area, encircled by a wall and towers, and divided longitudinally by a cross wall and ditch into two nearly equal wards. Almost in the centre of the area and of the division wall is a lofty circular mound, surmounted by the remains of a Norman shell keep. Except for the mound, all the usual features of a Saxon burh are here wanting; but this Mr. Hope thought could be explained by the fact that, as pointed out by Mr. G. T. Clark, the burh of the Saxon lord is actually to be seen on the other side of the valley above the railway station. The mound now carrying the shell keep, Mr. Hope ventured to suggest, was originally the moot-hill of the tythe of Pickering, but utilised and converted into a fortress by the Normans. Passing round the castle, Mr. Hope pointed out the remains of the chapel and the site of the great hall, and specially called attention to the domestic character of the Edwardian towers on the curtain wall.

A move was next made for Pickering Church, where the remarkable series of wall-paintings was described by the Vicar, the Rev. G. H. LIGHTFOOT. The archæological and artistic value of these paintings has been almost entirely destroyed by a well-meant but injudicious "restoration," in which, as the Vicar admitted, the original details have not always been followed. The church itself is an interesting structure, with a good deal of Norman work and some fine monumental effigies.

In the evening the general concluding meeting was held, Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, alluded to the great success which had attended, despite the fact of the General Election, the visit of the Institute to Scarborough. He then proposed a vote of thanks to His Worship the Mayor. This was seconded by Mr. E. GREEN, the Hon. Director, and carried unanimously.

THE Rev. F. SPURRELL proposed a vote of thanks to the Local Committee. This was seconded by Mr. HILTON, and carried.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., proposed, and Mr. MOTTRAM seconded, a vote of thanks to the owners of abbeys, castles, and houses visited, also to the clergy who had allowed them to inspect the churches.

On the motion of the Rev. T. AUDEN, seconded by Mr. FISON, votes of thanks were accorded to the Presidents of Sections.

A similar compliment was paid to the readers of papers on the motion of Mr. CATES, seconded by Mr. HULME.

Mr. LONGDEN proposed, and the Rev. Dr. CRESSWELL seconded, a vote of thanks to the President of the Meeting, His Grace the Archbishop of York.

This was carried with acclamation.

A vote of thanks was also passed to Mr. BEEFORTH for his hospitality. This was proposed by the Rev. SIR TALBOT BAKER and seconded by Mr. LE GROS.

Votes of thanks were also accorded to the honorary officers—Mr. Green (*Director*), and Mr. Arthur Lyell (*Secretary*), and to the Chairman for presiding.

Ordinary Meetings.

November 6th, 1895.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., V.P., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, alluded to the death of the Rev. J. Hirst, a well known member of the Institute. Father Hirst joined in 1883; in the following year he acted as secretary to the Antiquarian Section at the Newcastle Meeting. In 1887 he was a Vice-President of the same section at the Salisbury Meeting, and the following year at Leamington was President of the section. In 1893 he was a Vice-President of the Historical Section at the London Meeting. Various papers from his pen are to found in the *Journal*.

The RT. REV. BISHOP VERTUE exhibited the cartulary of Reading Abbey now in the possession of Lord Fingall and found some years ago in the old Manor House of Shinfield, Berks.

Mr. E. PEACOCK, F.S.A., read a paper on "Garlands," showing the widespread origin and the symbolical use by almost every race that has emerged from absolute savagery. Mr. Peacock cited instances where garlands are mentioned in the Bible, and showed that in more modern times they were connected for the most part with religious feeling, although previous to the sixteenth century they were used on secular as well as religious occasions.

Mr. F. G. HILTON PRICE, Dir.S.A., read a paper on "The Signs of Old Fleet Street, from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century." Mr. Price's paper is printed at p. 348.

December 4th, 1895.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. F. B. GARNETT, C.B., exhibited an Eastern necklace with amulet attached. The necklace was composed of beads and coins, the amulet of silver in the form of a small box with enamelled sides.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL read a paper on "Flint Implements from Egypt and Denmark," illustrated by numerous examples found by Professor Petrie in Egypt, and by drawings and photographs of examples from Denmark. Mr. Spurrell's paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Dr. A. A. CARUANA, Director of Education at Malta, communicated a paper on "Some Megalithic Discoveries and Explorations in the Island of Malta in 1892-93." This paper, illustrated by plans, will also appear in the *Journal*.

The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Dr.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1894.

Cy.

[illegible]

We hereby certify that we have prepared the above Cash Account for the year ended 31st December, 1894, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Pass Books of the Institute. Further we have also examined the payments made during the period with the vouchers produced and find the same in order.

H. MILLS BRANFORD & Co., *Chartered Accountants,*
3, Broad Street Buildings, E.C.
London, 21st May, 1895,

Examined and found correct,

ARCHIBALD DAY,
EDW. S. DEWICK,

Honorary Auditors.

May 30th, 1895.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY: being a classified collection of the chief contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAWRENCE GOMME, F.S.A. English Topography. Part VI. Kent and Lancashire. Edited by F. A. MILNE, M.A. (Elliot Stock, 8vo, 1895.)

Another volume of this excellent series, now including Kent and Lancashire. As may be expected, the home county occupies the greater space as being more prominent historically, and also so much nearer the headquarters of the *Maga*. As in former volumes we have a general record of old families gathered from monuments now too often destroyed under the pretence of restoration. Under the parish of Cudham it is recorded in 1656 that John, Henry, Rhoda, and Dorothy, were all baptized on February 20th, being sons and daughters of one birth. There is a note to this, that the boy who was sent to the vicar asked him to come and baptize a parcel of children.

There are also notices of repairs to Dover Castle, and most interesting accounts of early domestic buildings, some well known to-day, others well worth hunting up. Notes on the various ossuaries found in the county are food for thought as to whether they were formed by design or accident or may be in some cases the vestiges of early battles. For the first time in these volumes a list of field names appears, a subject to which archaeologists have lately paid attention, yet withal a very difficult one to follow up successfully. In the description of the churches there are many notices of mural paintings, a special feature particularly remarkable in Kent.

The Lancashire portion is of course on the same lines, and there are here many valuable notices and records of manor houses, churches, and local traditions.

THE HISTORY OF SUFFOLK. By JOHN JAMES RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A., vicar of Freshingfield with Withersdale, and of Metfield. Canon of Norwich. Popular County Histories. (Elliot Stock, 8vo, 1895.)

Suffolk lying just out of the line of northern travel is not so much visited as it should be. It is supposed to be an uninteresting county, yet it is a golden shire of plenteous corn, and has many dairies which produce the best of butter, and also, it must be said, the worst of cheese. The inhabitants, too, are supposed to be both uninteresting and unimaginative.

Flat is the shire of the southern folk,
And its streams are sluggish, very,
And they say you seldom hear a joke
In the town of St. Edmund's Bury;
But that's a story too absurd
To satisfy psychologists,
And I guess that numerous jokes were heard
In the days of the archaeologists.

This volume well disperses all doubt, and shows us annals and a general interest deserving and here receiving the best attention. The plan adopted is chronological, thus exhibiting the history from early days and the changes in the social condition of the inhabitants. Beginning with the physiographic and pre-historic, mention is necessarily made of the Hoxne flint implements brought to the notice of the Antiquaries in 1797 and so often since commented on. They are locally called fighting stones, and have been used for mending the roads. In the Roman Chapter the author notes as a surprise for the reader, that shorthand writers were used on the staff of the Count of the Saxon Shore, whose station was at Burgh or *Gariannonum*. Each word, he says, was written with one mark instead of fully, these marks being called *notæ* and the writers *notarii*. A good notice is given of the round towers of Suffolk, and it is suggested that their origin was from an order of Athelstan in 937 which required a bell tower to be erected on the estate of every Thane. From the frequent contiguity of church and lord's homestead this tower and bell became useful for both. A list of forty-five of these round towers is given. The story passes on in order of time full of interest until we come to more domestic incidents, such as the importance of carriers and the difficulty of postal communication. A curious book is noticed of 1637: *The Carriers' Cosmography*, by John Taylor, which gives directions for conveying a letter into Suffolk. Then, too, it took two days to journey from Bishopsgate Street to Yarmouth, the night being spent at Bury. We do the same journey now in three hours and a-half. Local worthies are not forgotten, and, lastly, there is a chapter on the ethnology, craniology, trichology, odontology, and siagonology, this last being kindly explained as the science of jaw bones; with these subjects are included surnames, dialect, and folk lore, making a fair puzzle to unravel. The dialect and accent of Suffolk have already attracted attention, as from the accent is supposed to arise the American twang. There was a close connection in the early days of settlement. From the dialect a word just now comes welcome—the word “slump”—lately so very familiar as supposed Stock Exchange slang. “Slump” is a Suffolk word derived from the Danish—*slumpe*, to tumble—and means, locally, failure or misfortune. To drop unexpectedly into a bog or rotten place is to slump in. These few remarks just give an idea of the matter touched upon in this volume. Canon Raven, who is the son of a Suffolk clergyman, and so at home in the county, has produced a very pleasant history. The work could not have been in better hands.

THE HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND. By CADWALLADER J. BATES.
Popular County Histories. (Elliot Stock, 1895.)

Another volume of the Popular County Histories, now, to the southerner, of a far off and but little known land. Beginning as usual with pre-historic times, we learn that little can be said, as there seems to be no trace of palæolithic man, and only fragmentary traces of his successors. Necessarily, the four Dykes and the Roman Wall command and receive a long notice. Local tradition associates the Picts with this work, a point which has been too much overlooked.

The author having his own opinions impresses on his readers the danger of hastily drawing conclusions. Before leaving the Wall, that great *crux* for antiquaries the tenth Iter is noticed as being possibly very simply explained. Thus by "correcting" the distance from Calacum to Alo, making the figures XLIX instead of XIX, all difficulty disappears. It is a matter for very serious regret to read that, unless the country is "conquered by some civilised nation," there will soon be no traces of the Wall left, as it is being rapidly quarried to mend the roads by either the urban or rural authorities.

Two chapters now follow treating of the district as a kingdom, until A.D. 954, followed by its reduction after the Heptarchy to an Earldom. A little later the earldom was restricted and divided into three, a division which weakened the whole and placed it at the mercy of the Scots. Border raids commenced, and fighting went on until the strong man came as William the Norman, and harried and ravaged and made the country a desert. For nine years all cultivation ceased. Raiding revived and continued, the country being thus kept in a semi-wild state. Next comes the war of 1290, when Edward established his rule in Scotland, and the King of Scots did him homage as his suzerain. Against this presently arose William Wallace and his men, and Northumberland heavily felt his presence until he was defeated at Falkirk. Still there was no rest, for now arose Robert Bruce in 1306, and only after much desultory fighting, much raiding and rapine, was a truce concluded. In 1346 David Bruce ravaged the land until a truce was made in 1357 which lasted for twenty years. In 1388 the whole district was again raided; and was yet again laid waste in the time of Warbeck. At the time of the accession of Queen Elizabeth the state of the county must have been sad indeed: cattle, horses, corn, everything stolen. This wearisome story closed in 1602 with the Union under our James 1st. From a ravaged and pillaged border land, Northumberland became a quiet industrious English county.

There are chapters on the Percies and the Radcliffes, and on Newcastle the county town. Folk lore has not a separate notice, but an account of two northern weddings may be quoted. No fewer than five thousand people, most of them from the country, attended the wedding of a miner at Newcastle in 1754. At another, the marriage of a farmer, five hundred men and women partook of one hundred and twenty quarters of lamb, forty-four quarters of veal, twenty quarters of mutton, and twelve hams, besides poultry and other viands. The punch required four ankers of brandy, and the beer ninety bushels of malt. Besides these, there were twelve dozens of cider and many gallons of wine. Twenty-five fiddlers kept up the merriment.

It is evident throughout the volume that the author has been compelled to epitomise and heavily compress his original matter, a position which must have greatly increased his labour. There is a good index, a point always to be commended.

CRATFIELD: a transcript of the accounts of the parish, from A.D. 1490 to A.D. 1642, with notes. By the late Rev. WILLIAM HOLLAND, B.A., rector of Huntingfield with Cookley. With a brief memoir of the author by his widow. Edited with an introduction by JOHN JAMES RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A. (Jarrold and Sons, 8vo, 1895.)

The exact whereabouts of this parish is probably known but to a few. Nevertheless every page of the record here printed is extremely interesting, especially to those who wish to have facts rather than a too clever rhetoric put before them as history. The time covered, 1490 to 1642, gives us some very early accounts, and the transcript being annotated year by year by the author the reader is greatly aided by his explanations of otherwise obscure points. The very first page gives a very curious will by which the testator bequeaths his property to his nephew William; but if he be obstinate and froward, John is to be set in his place; finally the executors are to see that "none idiot or fool occupy the said goods but refuse him and take the next that my name may continue goodly." How many others since have tried or hoped to do this! The next page shows us the custom of church ales as a very prominent form of entertainment, giving excuse for often holiday and much revelry. There are inventories of 1528 and 1555, and Gild accounts covering ten pages, for 1534. During Mary's reign thirty-six people were burned in Suffolk.

In 1580 comes a first notice of payment for "killing noyful fowles and vermen," these being "moules, hodespyt hedes, starlens hedes, cadowes hedes, pye, and hauppe hedes." There is also account of twelve pence paid the "shollemaster for wrighting this byll." Half a horse hide of white leather is used to make two new baldricks for the bells, and in 1582 occurs the first entry of a ringing, when on coronation day the sum of sixteen pence was paid the ringers to be spent in "victtalls." Whiting and casting the church in 1583 shows us when wall paintings were obliterated and texts substituted. This year, too, the royal arms were put up, there being a payment for a "staying" (scaffolding) for the "stayner." Much information may be gathered of the dress and equipment of soldiers and the preparations for the Armada. There are several entries of losses in supplying the crown purveyors. Thus, in 1588, it is entered: Received from the queen's purveyors 4s. 6d. for four capons, five pullets, and six hens, for which 8s. 11d. were paid besides expenses of carriage: another entry records that the cost of carriage was sixpence. The first mention of a doctor is in 1590, when one is paid 6s. 8d. for healing a woman. The first mention of tobacco is in 1603; and in 1611 is noted the first payment to a girl of three yards of "carsie" for her clothing on going to service. The old spelling is retained throughout, thus adding to the interest of the volume. Any one seeking a new name for a baby daughter may perhaps like Elihenna as a substitute for Eleanor. As in all similar cases, this work must have been begun and carried out as a labour of love with but little hope of profit, but it is well and carefully done, and we hope will serve as an example and encourage many others, having like opportunities, to go and do likewise.

THE CITIES AND BISHOPRICS OF PHRYGIA: being an essay of the local history of Phrygia from the earliest times to the Turkish conquest. By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I. The Kykos Valley and South Western Phrygia. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, 1895.)

A learned, laborious, and scholarly volume full of history and archæology to which we can hardly do justice in the small space at command. Asia Minor has been greatly neglected as a field of research, but here we have the records of many yearly visits and a mass of knowledge accumulated. From the nature of the narrative it is somewhat difficult to fix the attention of the general reader, yet the story runs clearly on. Maps are given drawn from personal observation, and herein are placed fifteen cities, towns, or villages, one of these only being previously mentioned.

Many of these isolated places have no written history. Information, therefore, can only be gathered from scattered allusions in ancient writers, from the monuments or other remains. Numerous copied inscriptions are given as found in the different districts. Since 700 B.C., when all trace of a national unity disappears from its history, the country has been under foreign domination—Persian, Greek, Roman, in succession—until finally conquered by the Turks in 1210 A.D. Evidences have therefore to be sought for in different places. The author argues, and supports the argument, for the first time, that the old empire of Pteria, of which Phrygia was a part, was ruled by King Khitasar, whose war with Ramases II about 1300 B.C., is one of the most famous events in Egyptian history. He fairly states that this, remembering the difficult circumstances, may not be completely proved, but he fully brings up his inferences and gives the reasons which point to it. Much would depend on the geographical identifications. The social system, the trade guilds, the tombstones, and the religions are all examined, affording the reader much food for thought. The religion seems to have been the adoration of life in nature, a life subject to death, but afterwards reproducing itself; in fact, with the ever present desire to annihilate death and preserve a continuity. Our old friend the serpent, too, appears here as the origin or father god, who has a daughter, and taking this form not to be recognised, deceives her, and so procreates a son. From all the subjects touched on welcome information can be gained regarding the early times of this almost unvisited country.

THE WORKS OF THE REV. GRIFFITH EDWARDS (GUTYN PADARN), M.A., F.R.H.S., late vicar of Llangadfan, Montgomeryshire. Edited by the Rev. ELIAS OWEN, M.A., F.S.A., vicar of Llanyblodwel, Oswestry. Parochial histories of Llangadfan, Garthbeibio, and Llanerfyl, Montgomeryshire; together with Welsh and English poetry. (Elliot Stock, 8vo, 1895.)

Being fourteen miles from a railway station the places whose short records are herein noted are still much excluded from the busier outer world. Welsh is the every-day language. As may be expected, belief in witchcraft, charms, and spells, and the former time existence of giants, has not by any means disappeared. The churchwardens'

accounts are specially interesting, and these, with other sources of information, have been laid under contribution. It seems that Bishop Short, who gave the author the living, was in the habit of presenting each new incumbent with a book, with the request that he would forthwith commence and make notes for a history of the parish. Many of these books are preserved in the diocese of Asaph, and we cannot doubt that we owe this volume to the bishop's foresight. The first parish taken is Llangadfan, which we are told is 16,929 acres in area, with a population of 1,028. Local events are carefully recorded, and the archæological remains well noticed and with illustrations. Of the cairns and barrows several have of late years disappeared in clearing or cultivating the land. Short biographies of some parochial worthies close the history.

The parish of Garthbeibio is 7,200 acres, with a gross rental of £1,169, and a population of 332. Bleak and barren really, to the eye of many it would be wild and picturesque. The barrows here, too, are now demolished and the stones used for walls or fences. Thus not much remains to comment on. A custom is recorded of the farmers having summer dwellings on the mountains to which they went with their dairy utensils and cattle. With better food of late years the people are also better dressed and better housed.

Llanerfyl, eight miles in length and four in breadth, contains 16,255 acres, with a population of 788. The mountain waste is a sheep walk common to the adjacent farms. The Roman road called Sarn Helen passed through the parish. A good account is given of the ancient earthworks and finds with illustrations, also of a curious inscribed stone in the churchyard. In 1675 the rood loft remained, when it was taken down, having been apparently used as a gallery, and the materials used to make a new gallery below the font in lieu of the said rood.

The district, as may be expected, once had its band of robbers known as the red banditti. These robbed and plundered by day and by night until they were surprised in their lair, and at once hanged. One plan of preventing a night visit to a house was the placing scythes in the chimneys, and some of these remained at the end of the last century. These short histories were first contributed as papers to the transactions of the Powys Land Field Club: the volume now, as a whole, is an excellent example of how much intelligence and observation, without material aid, can do towards making an interesting and valuable local record. The author began to write as a poet, his daily surroundings well favouring this cult. At the end of this volume are some of these poems in Welsh. We can only hope they are very good.

A HISTORY OF DEVONSHIRE: with sketches of its leading worthies. By R. N. WORTH, F.G.S. (Elliot Stock, 1895.)

It is some time since the history of Devon was written, but much new matter has of late been printed in a disjointed or unconnected way. The author very properly acknowledges his indebtedness to these sources. After a general introduction; with a place name heading each chapter the history of the chief towns is told, notes on the smaller places around being added. Readable, portable, and

clearly printed, this volume should be acceptable to the visitor and traveller as giving in small compass all general information, helping all who see to understand. The story of Lundy island is curious, especially from the time of James I, when it was a pirate's lair. Next it was taken by the Turks. In 1632 it was still the home of buccaneers, and the next year was plundered by the crew of a Spanish vessel. The last chapter is on the dialect and folk-lore of the county; the first being claimed as the true English classic. Having Dartmoor within its borders, the folk-lore is extensive, and many are still following heathen ideas in this wise. It is told that a certain pit, which under ordinary circumstances is dry, becomes filled with water before any national event or family calamity. As national events and family calamities happen daily, the pit should always be full. There is a convenient index which brings out all the most important subject headings.



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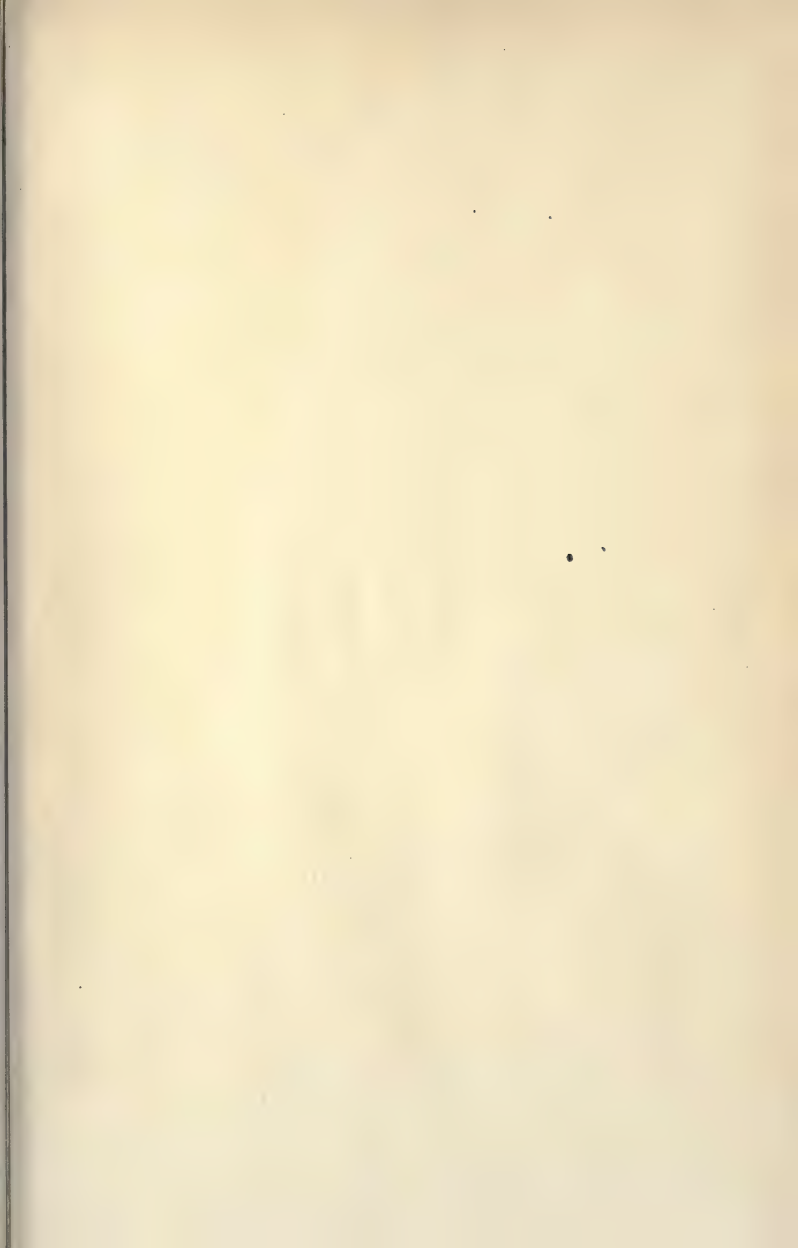
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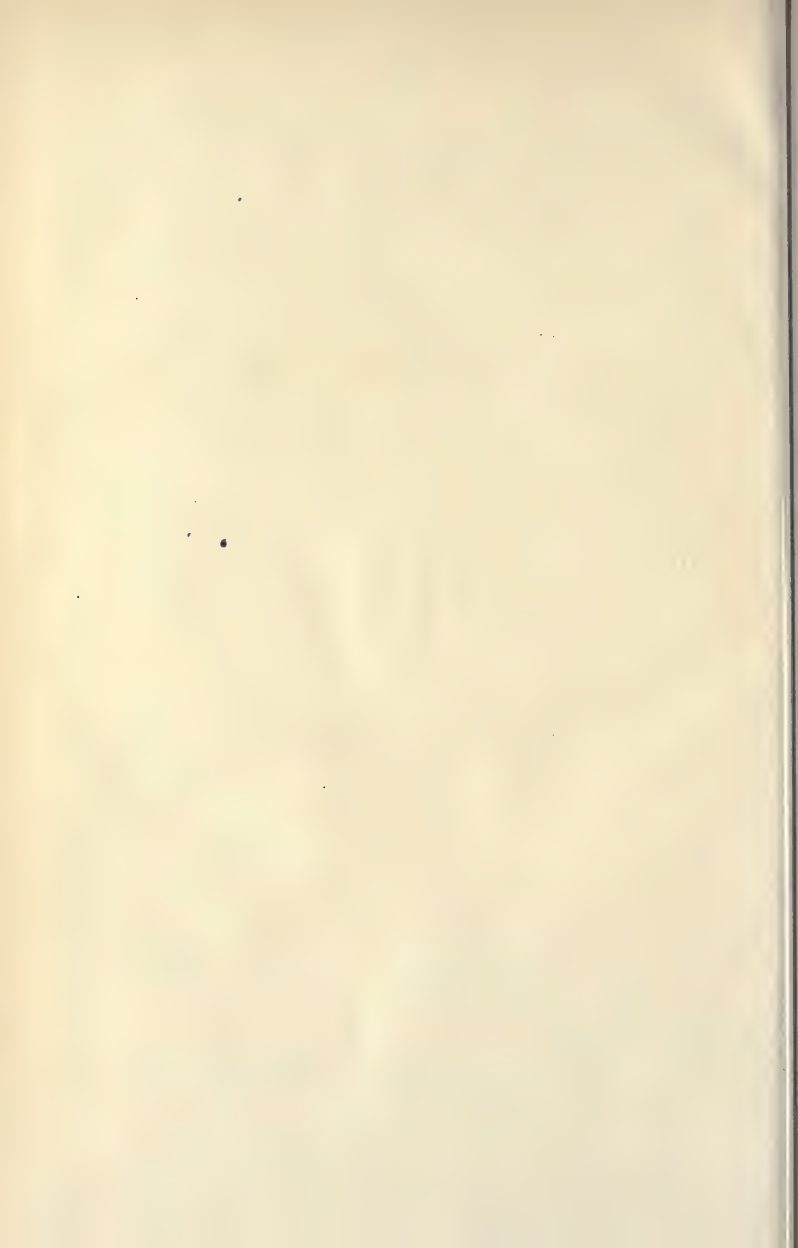
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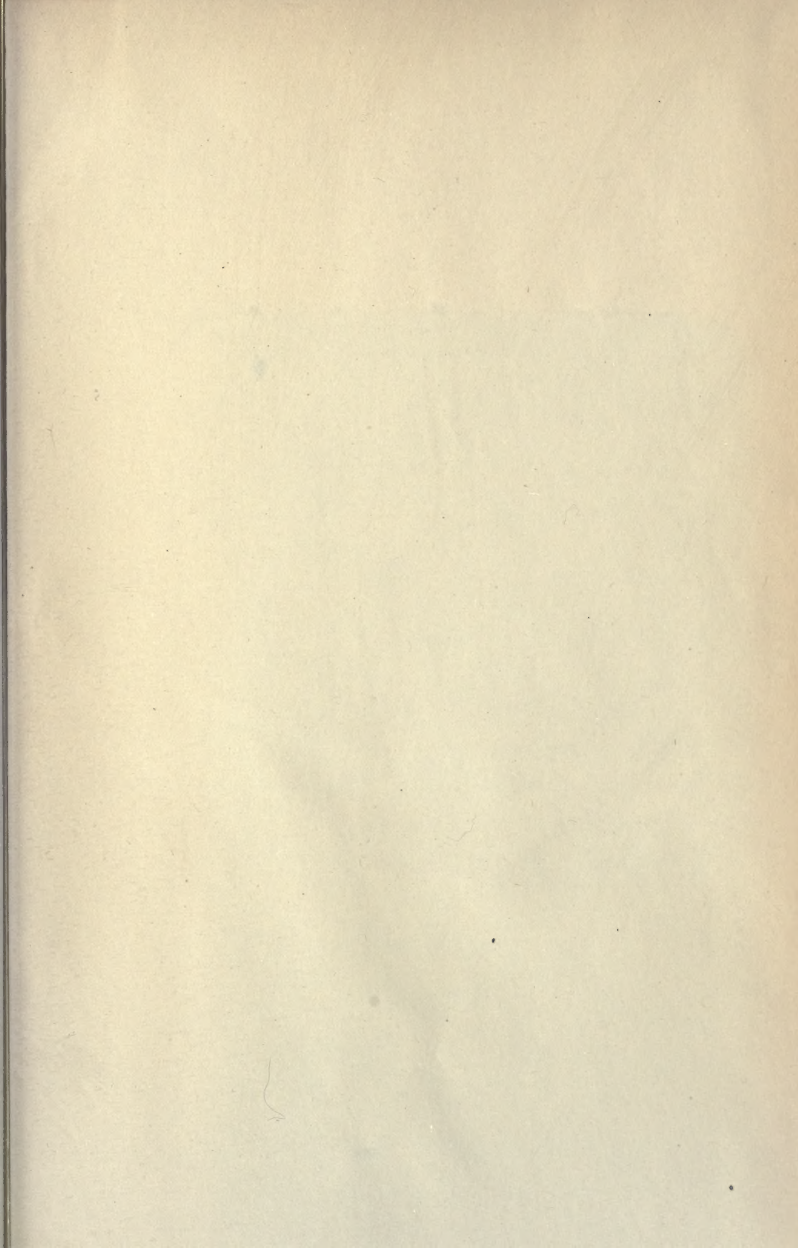
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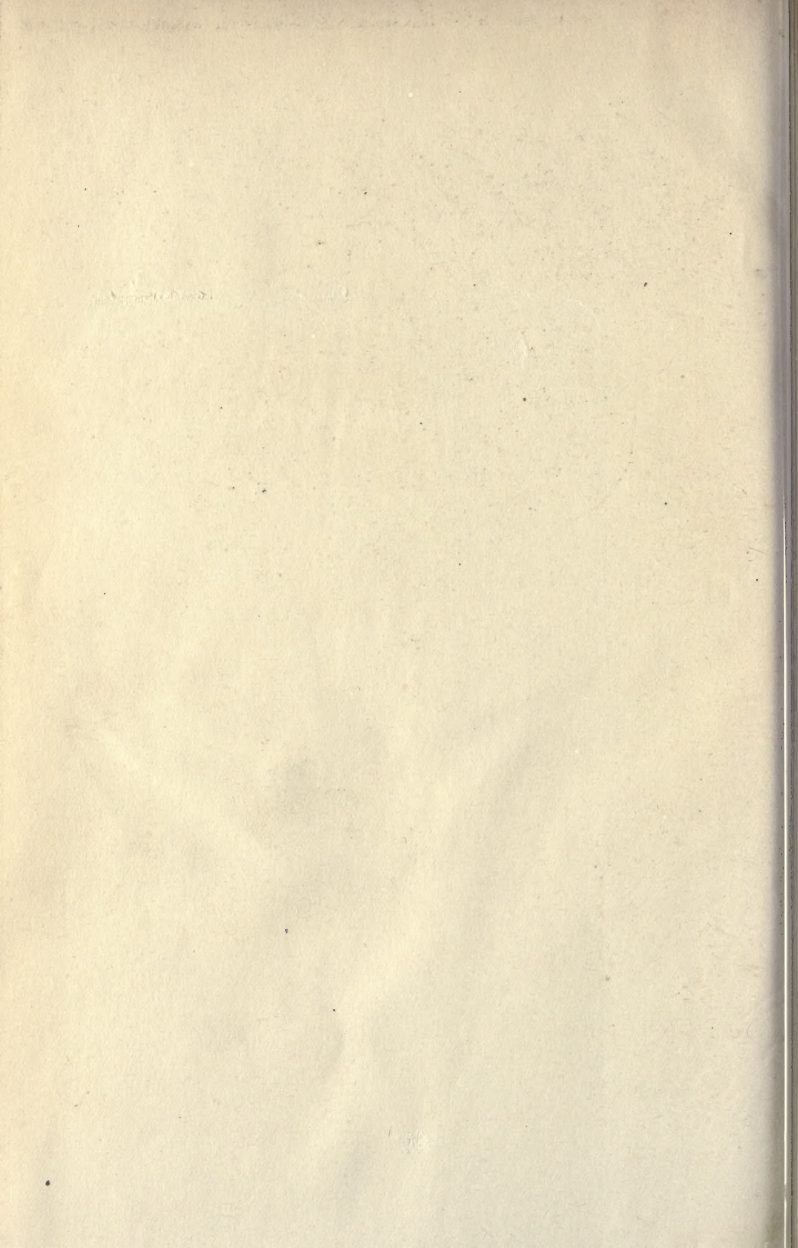
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